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THE ENLARGEMENT OF PERSONALITY

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BEHAVIOR PATTERNS AND THEIR FORMATION

BY

J. H. DENISON

Author of "Emotion as the Basis of Civilization"

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A

INTRODUCTION

During the war there was a hospital at Chalons for men wounded in the face. A girl came there to visit her fiancé, whose whole face had been shot away, so that no feature remained. She was filled with horror and could not believe that this featureless being was her fiancé. Every familiar expression was lost. The face she had learned to love was gone. For her, the man's face was he. Without it she could not recognize him. This naturally suggests a query. If your body were stripped off would your friends still be able to recognize you? You doubtless feel that there is something there independent of your features,—that you would still have an individuality if your face were gone. You have certain ways of thinking, certain strong feelings and peculiar prejudices, certain standards of conduct. If they were made manifest, even if your body were invisible, you feel sure that your friend would say: "Why that is old Jim! I'd know him anyhere."

Now each of us has some sort of a picture of this self of ours that is hidden behind the face. Some of us, perhaps, are quite satisfied with the portrait we see, and feel that it cannot be improved upon. Others who have been forced by circumstances to compare themselves with certain heroic souls, or who have fallen down under some of the severe tests of life, or who have met with ridicule and contumely whenever they have granted the world a glimpse of the self within,—others, I say, would be pleased to have a few alterations and emendations in the portrait, and there are some sufficiently dissatisfied to desire an entire and absolute change.

Man has acquired of late years the most amazing power to manipulate and alter the material world about him, through the discoveries and inventions of science. However much he is interested in the material world, and however much he may pretend to be interested in others, by courteously directing the conversation to their virtues, it is probable that to every man the most vital object of interest is himself. If Science should give him power to alter the whole outside universe and fail to assist him in doing what he wants with himself, he would be likely to consider it a failure. Science has taken the most marvellous strides in providing means to alter the outer self and thousands are toiling and suffering to avail themselves of its aid. Sagging cheeks are lifted, noses are straightened, jaws rebuilt, hair recolored, and permanently waved, the waist-line is altered and the muscles are built up. But all this does not add those touches we desire to the portrait of the inner man; strength of character, personal charm, power over men, serenity, happiness,—there seems to be no recognized formula that will produce these things. One would think that by this time a man should be able to order any kind of self he prefers and have the chemical ingredients sent him in a neat little package. Unfortunately, when it approaches the self, science seems in a hopeless snarl. In fact some dodge the question by telling us that the Self is an illusion, a mere complex of reactions caused by external stimuli. But that does not trouble us seriously for we are beginning to think that illusions are much more vital and important than realities. Our body at least appears to be solid, but here come the scientists and tell us that if all the electrons of which it is composed were collected in a solid lump it would be barely visible with a magnifying glass! So it is really empty space with not enough solid to be seen with the naked eye! And now they tell us that even the electrons are not solid, but only intersecting wavelets in the sub ether. Then, as no one knows what the sub ether is, if my body isn't illusion I don't know what is. In pursuing reality we have got far beyond the powers of the human senses and even of mortal thought. We view stars like Betelguese and Antares that are nearly twice as big as the orbit of the earth, so that at our rate of nineteen miles a second we would certainly take more than a year to go around them. When we have grasped the fact that light, which would take about ten minutes from the sun to us, would take one hundred thousand years to cross our universe, or the Galactic system, as they call it, we are then stunned by the information that the spiral nebulæ are other universes, the nearest of which is almost a million light years away!

In contrast with all this unthinkable bigness, we are brought face to face with the electron as ultimate reality, and are told that if the smallest speck visible to a microscope were divided a thousand times we would have the size of an atom. Then if we magnify the atom to the size of a church the electrons might be represented by a few house flies flying about. Each electron at times radiates energy, not in a stream, but in tiny chunks or quanta, and each chunk has actually been measured and found to be equal to $3{\cdot}4.10^{-12}$ ergs in $1{\cdot}9.10^{-15}$ seconds. Even the scientists do not seem to understand that mysterious formula $q\ p - p\ q = i\ h/2\pi$ (where $h =$ the quantum rule and i is the mystic $\sqrt{-1}$) which is supposed to regulate the energy of the universe. All the material world is reduced to a schedule of pointer markings. Because of a slight discrepancy we have been forced to abandon the old Newtonian physics and Euclidian geometry and launch forth into a space with ten coefficients of curvature and several extra dimensions. The whole universe seems to be slightly askew, but nothing can be satisfactorily measured because the measuring-rod changes its length and the clock its time according to the speed at which it travels and all things travel at different speeds. It is as if, in doing a sum, a man subtracted 9 from 10 and got 1 and one-millionth as an answer, instead of 1, and then tried to reconstruct the whole of mathematics to agree with his finding.

If then the whole material world is so far beyond our reach and so different from what it appears, we may expect to find some illusions in the inner world. The same genius that has analyzed external reality into its constituent electrons has been at work on personality. Every man knows that he is what he is because of the assortment of ancestral chromosomes which was made in the germ cell which produced him. He knows that there are forty-eight chromosomes which are supposed to produce all the qualities of body and soul. Half come from the father's side and half from the mother's, but which qualities from which, is undetermined, and it is by means of the various possible permutations that the varieties of character in children of the same parents are produced. In this way a man acquires the basis of his personality. Its development is due to the manner in which he builds up his nerve connections. The fibres of the brain have been dissected and personality has been shown to be a network of neurones connecting the various centres in the brain in accord with a certain pattern, so that a certain stimulus must awaken a certain definite response by following the pathway of the established connection. We are told how children start with certain instinctive reactions and then gradually "condition" them, which means that the reaction is artificially associated with other stimuli. Some think that new nerve connections are made in the brain and the habits of the child are thus determined.

The Behaviorist claims that heredity is comparatively unimportant, since, by conditioning the reflexes of a child, he can be made to behave in any fashion that is desired. Exhaustive investigation has been made into the reactions of all types of human beings. It is admitted that there are certain types that tend to react in a certain way. Kretschmer has demonstrated that there is a biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the cyclothymes and the pyknic body type, and also an affinity between the psychic disposition of the schizophrenes and the bodily disposition of the asthenics and athletics, so that there is here a groundwork for different types of the self, were one to admit such an entity.

The Behaviorist has done wonders in measuring the stimulus and noting the response. He has followed it as far as it can be followed into the network of neurones and brain cells, but here inevitably he has run into mystery. The reaction is not always proportioned to the stimulus. A very slight whisper may produce a violent explosion. Moreover the mental product often does not resemble the stimulus in the least. There has been a process resembling the deciphering of a code and the construction of a world of images that did not exist before. The Gestalt psychology has filled in the gap to some extent with its suggestion that the mind grasps things as wholes or definite forms, and in showing the defects of Behaviorism, has led us to hope for a further solution of the mystery of the self.

We know that our structural and emotional development is dependent on certain subtle chemical reactions due largely to the secretions of the endocrine glands. The growth and shape of the bony structure depends on the pituitary gland, the rapidity of growth on the thyroid, which is a sort of accelerator. The thymus retards and in some mysterious way preserves the characteristics of childhood. The adrenal produces astonishing emotional effects. A dose of it given to a friend of the author produced all the symptoms of extreme terror which held the unfortunate subject in its grip in spite of all efforts, until the effects wore off.

Another portion of the adrenal is said to produce rage. Experiments have been made lately with school children, and the physician in charge told the author of one girl whom he treated who had all the symptoms of deficient endocrine,—spastic muscles, extreme timidity, and lack of self-confidence. Extract of superior adrenal was administered, and the physician stated that in two weeks she was fighting her brothers. It must be stated that other physicians have doubts of the efficacy of the adrenal to produce rage. So much has been written of the effect of the sex glands that it is hardly necessary to allude to their potency in transforming character.

Another group of scientists have been experimenting with hypnotism and its effects on personality, and have shown that in certain cases the personality can be dis-associated so that there are apparently two or more separate consciousnesses, sometimes working at cross purposes, though dwelling in the same body. By hypnotism, in the case of so-called hysterics, certain portions of the body, as for instance, the right hand, can be freed from the control of the subject's conscious mind. The hand can then write messages which do not come from the conscious mind of the subject, but either from some subconscious area, or else, possibly, as some hold, from some secondary personality.

We find then that Science is producing the most amazing changes not only in our attitude to the external world, but also in our conception of the inner world of personality.

Great and important as are the discoveries which enable us to control the vast forces of the material world, to every one of us the forces which create and modify our own personality are even more important. Every man realizes to-day that success and happiness depend upon personality, and nothing is so much desired as some means to acquire a personality that is greater and more potent. The papers and magazines are full of advertisements of various methods of attaining this end, and thousands are following various quackish prescriptions in the hope of acquiring greater personal power.

Here then are the two schools of scientists, those who teach us how the mind is formed by material agencies, by gametes and zygotes and neurones and chemicals and endocrine glands, and those who show us how the mind is affected by hypnotism and by contact with other personalities.

Both sides are right. It is certainly true that mind is affected by matter, and it is also true that matter is affected by mind. Character is produced by neurones and nerve connections, and emotions by endocrine glands. But it is also true that nerve connections are produced by thought and that endocrine glands are moved to secretion by emotion. In the parallel series of mental and material phenomena each set can affect the other, and produce very surprising changes in its sequence. In its dealing with personality Science has not yet acquired the accuracy that it has attained in chemistry and physics, and physicians do not yet guarantee to provide a man with the personality he requires by administering extracts from the endocrine glands. Hypnotism and psychical research, though they furnish many astounding facts, do not yet seem to have established an authoritative method of developing the mind. While we may learn much from the abnormal cases that are brought to the fore by hypnotists and psycho-analysts, it would seem that there is room for a study of the normal man, and of the manner in which his personality develops.

One might take the outside view and dissect his brain to discover the various nerve connections upon which his reactions depend, or one may trace one by one the means by which his various unlearned reactions were gradually conditioned to produce the complex pattern that we term his personality. But there is an inside view that may be taken of all these phenomena, and we may also examine the thoughts and feelings whose interaction has produced the complex consciousness or pattern of reactions, that in common parlance is termed the self.

When all these various reactions have produced a definite pattern of behavior in the individual, that pattern is reflected in his consciousness with varying degrees of accuracy. In other words every man has a certain picture of himself,—an idea of what sort of a man he is. It is not the object of these pages to enter the field of psychological controversy and to decide whether the Behaviorists or Introspectionists or Gestaltists are correct in describing the method by which the personality is built up. I wish merely to take the facts of consciousness which are a matter of common experience and of historic record and to suggest an interpretation of them.

Some hold that when the pattern of personality has been built up, it is impossible to alter it save by reconditioning all the various reactions one by one. I wish to suggest that there may be a short cut by which a large number of these reactions may be reconditioned all at once. As has been said an idea or an emotion has a strong effect upon the reactions of the body. Many of our reactions are reconditioned by fear,—even by fear which comes, not from any mechanical stimulus like the barking of a dog, but from an idea which may have no basis in reality. Of all the ideas that are potent to recondition the reactions that make up the pattern of the personality, none seems to have such an effect as this idea which a man has of himself. It is true that ordinarily this idea or picture which a man has of himself is a product of complex reactions and that it changes very slowly. Some even assert that after a certain age it does not change at all. Personally I have witnessed such astonishing transformation of personality that I cannot accept this view, and I feel that there must be many who have seen similar instances, or read of them in history, so that they would agree that a transformation of personality is possible if one could find the right method.

I wish to suggest the fact that if a man is given a new and different idea of what he is, that idea in many instances, by the emotions and thoughts it produces, will so recondition his reactions that his behavior and character will be materially altered. You may say that a man first behaves as a gentleman and then acquires the picture of himself as a gentleman. This is true in some cases, but the opposite is equally true. The boy is given the picture of himself as a gentleman and gradually conforms his behavior to the picture. In most cases behavior and concept grow simultaneously. When once the concept is definitely accepted it modifies the behavior and eliminates that which is incongruous. Even Behaviorists tacitly admit that when a man acquires an idea that he is a person of a certain sort, it affects his behavior. In Mr. Watson's book on Behaviorism (p. 15) I find the following statement: "The behaviorist is primarily interested in the behavior of the whole man. . . . The response the behaviorist is interested in is the common-sense answer to the question, 'What is he doing and why is he doing it?' Surely . . . no one can distort the behaviorist's platform to such an extent that it can be claimed that the behaviorist is merely a muscle psychologist." This would seem to imply that when a man conceives of himself as a Behaviorist he reacts differently toward certain phenomena than do certain other psychologists. He might gain this concept of himself as the result of a long series of experiments or reactions, or it might be the result of arguments brought forth in conversation, or it might come from reading a book, or even as a result of personal devotion to such a person as Dr. Watson. The point is that the moment the concept is accepted so that a man says, "I am a Behaviorist" he reacts differently than he did before he held this view of himself.

In such reading as I have been able to do I have not found any satisfactory explanation of this concept which a man holds of himself and of its operation. I have sought to record some of the effects which I have seen it produce on the consciousness of various individuals. I have also attempted to describe the more important behavior patterns that have shaped character in the world, and to show how they were created, the emotions that were used to condition them, and the extraordinary way in which they have been transferred, so that quite a different self has been created. If the self is an illusion, it is an illusion that works. They may tell me that the axe I hold is not solid but only a galaxy of tiny electrons in empty space, yet somehow, illusory as it is, the axe cuts down the tree. For us, our illusions are more real than reality. There are methods of manipulating them that produce results which, though they may also be illusions, produce success and happiness and personal force. Experience has shown me that it is possible to enlarge and even transform personality, and I hope these pages may suggest the means by which others may gain at least the illusion of greater happiness, wider interests, and increased personal power.

It is extremely difficult to find a term which will cover this idea or picture which a man has of himself which is our chief subject of discussion. With some men it is vaguely formulated, and they seem to have little idea of what they really are like. But the great majority of men, and even such savages as I have been able to interrogate, seem to have a fairly definite concept or picture of themselves. We might term this concept a pattern of behavior, but it is more than this. It is the result in their consciousness of the pattern of behavior which they have adopted. To them it appears as the picture of themselves, —of their own conduct and character. When this picture is changed it appears to them that they have acquired another self, and in the case of certain standardized patterns of behavior, the term "self" or "standardized self" might not be inappropriate. With this explantion I must beg the indulgence of the reader for any awkwardness in terminology. I have used the terms, "concept of the self," "behavior pattern," "consciousness pattern," or "self," to indicate different aspects of this same phenomenon, the picture which a man has formed of himself. Whether it is real or illusory, it has its effect on his reactions and character, and seems often to be a norm about which his consciousness and behavior crystallize.

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THE ENLARGEMENT
OF PERSONALITY

CHAPTER I

PORTRAITS, IMAGINARY AND REAL

I. THE PICTURE OF ONESELF

A letter was once delivered to me which was signed, "Adam, the first man." It was a plea against the unexampled injustice with which the writer had been treated. He stated that the earth in its entirety had been given to him by its creator, and he offered incontrovertible proof from Holy Writ to that effect. He had been turned out of his inheritance, and whenever he asserted his rights he was treated with insult. He was willing to share his possessions with others, but the greedy world had seized them all, and would not grant him so much as a square foot of the vast lands that were his by sacred right. It is easy to understand the bitterness of his soul. Of course men called him insane, but the real trouble was merely that he had a wrong concept of himself. Aside from that he may have been sane enough. He thought that he really *was* Adam, and his behavior and feelings were the natural result of that concept. I have quoted him because there are many men whose concepts of themselves, while not sufficiently extravagant to land them in the insane asylum, are nevertheless responsible for most erratic behavior on their part. The author of the letter is merely an example of the astonishing manner in which the behavior and happiness of a man is modified by the concept he has of himself.

It is self-evident that a man will behave in different fashion if he thinks he is Napoleon from what he will if he thinks he is St. Francis. This is equally true when his concept coincides more exactly with reality. If he has been trained to consider himself a Quaker, he will naturally react differently from what he will if he has been brought up to consider himself a soldier and a militarist. Moreover, the line of sanity is not so easy to draw. There is many a man at large, and supposedly sane, whose concept of himself is so extravagant that he expects as much adulation as if he were Napoleon, but so long as he does not identify himself with any definite hero by name he escapes the asylum. And yet his behavior might seem all the more insane. Without any Napoleonic achievement he has acquired so exalted an opinion of himself that he is always dissatisfied with the treatment accorded him by the world. Not only his behavior then, but also his happiness, are vitally affected by his concept of himself. And this may be true even if the portrait of himself which he cherishes does not resemble him in the least. He will be far from cheerful if he views himself as a cowardly weakling and is quite correct in his estimate, but he will be equally far from serenity if he thinks himself a Chesterfield when the world has discovered that he is only a bore, and makes him aware of its opinion. For the world must soon discover the portrait he has of himself. It does not take his acquaintances long to recognize whether he feels himself to be a fascinating man of the world, or an awkward bungler.

This picture of himself which every man acquires in spite of himself in some mysterious fashion is, then, a most important feature in his mental physiognomy. Every commencement orator speaks of the young man's ideal, which is quite a different sort of a portrait, namely, the picture of the man he wants to be; and we are informed that without an ideal a man has small hope of a character. Now we wish to call attention to the fact that besides the portrait of the man he wants to be, each man has in his mental gallery this other portrait, which he does not always display so readily—that of the man he thinks he is, and that the latter has a much more vital effect on his character. The ideal certainly does affect his behavior. But as a portrait, the likeness, if it exists at all, is usually due to considerable conscious effort, while his resemblance to the other portrait exists even in spite of his efforts. In the latter case his conduct is the result of the resemblance, while, in the case of the ideal, the resemblance is the result of his conduct. Each of us has such a portrait or concept of himself, though he may not know it until he looks for it. If he thinks he is a self-made man, he may suppose that he painted this portrait himself, but it is probable that it was drawn by others originally. In some way he was induced to accept it so that now he is positively convinced that he is the man it portrays.

The portrait itself is usually by no means a simple outline in crayon. It seems to be rather a composite of many different faces, whose delineation is the work of widely different artists. Some go back to the period of the old masters, and some are almost coeval with the work of the Cro-Magnon painters in the caves of the Pyrenees. Each man usually has a picture of himself, and his faults and virtues, of which his own family circle were the artists. It is they who fill in such features as are evidenced when one hears him say: "I am quick-tempered," or "I have a strong will, you can lead me but you can't drive me." But when he adds, "I am a gentleman," or "I am a Presbyterian," he makes it evident that in his portrait of himself are included certain features designed, not by his family, but by artists of a former century. And his consciousness that he is a civilized man and not a savage, includes in the portrait outlines which were drawn back of the beginning of history. Each of these features has an effect on the behavior and attitudes of the individual. He is what he is because he has taken, perhaps unconsciously, as the portrait of himself, a picture parts of which were painted ages ago with infinite toil and with colors mixed with life blood.

It is not always clear how he came to adopt so definite and complicated a concept of the self that is he, but we do know there are large numbers of people who are only too eager to assist him. Everywhere there are groups of men each of which is occupied with painting for themselves and others the portrait of a certain type of self which they then try to impose upon every man who comes under their influence. When their victim emerges stamped with this group portrait and states sincerely, "I am a Klansman, or a Theosophist, or a Fundamentalist, or a Pacifist," or whatever type of "ist" the group may happen to manufacture, they then seem to feel that creative joy that is the prerogative of the artist. Through their influence the man has been led to modify his concept of himself and to include in it certain features which they regard as essential. Though many groups are seeking to accomplish this, they have no clearly defined method of doing it. Persuasion does not always avail. It is possible to convince a man that he ought to be a Christian or a social success, and he may yet feel positive that he is not one. Suggestion sometimes avails, but an attempt to force the concept by saying, "You *are* a pacifist," or "You *are* a sinner," does not always succeed. The patient may respond that he does not in the least feel that he is one. Unless he is thoroughly convinced that he really *is* what the portrait represents, it remains a mere fancy sketch and has no more influence upon him than a portrait of Philip II.

Some portraits are so vague and have so slight an influence on behavior that they can be accepted by a mere act of intellectual acquiescence, or by the signing of a name. One may say, "I am a Republican," or "I am a Democrat," without any radical change in personality. Others, however, are so definite in outline and involve the acceptance or abandonment of such a mass of ideas and prejudices that their adoption means a real transformation. When the man who had said, "I am Saul the Pharisee," was able to say sincerely, "I am Paul the Christian," it involved a radical change of personality. The same was true when the girl who thought of herself as Theodora the popular buffoon and prostitute, was able to say, "I am Theodora, empress of the world, wife of Justinian, Patron of the church, and example in etiquette and morals." The new concept of herself involved a complete change in behavior, and apparently in all her feelings as well. You may think that her behavior changed first and then she found the new concept, but in many cases it is true that the new concept, when accepted, changes the behavior, and it seems to have been true in the case of Theodora.

Now it might be easy enough for a person to alter his behavior to resemble some pattern and then to walk about with the uncomfortable consciousness, "I am a fraud acting a part." But just what produces the change of consciousness that enables a person to feel, "I *am* this new person," is the matter that deserves investigation.

Certain of these concepts of self, for example such portraits as enable a man to view himself as a gentleman, seem to be accepted as a matter of course along with all those strange things that we inherit from our ancestors. To properly analyze the picture you have of yourself to-day, it would be necessary to trace the painting of such portraits through the course of the ages that are past, and to discover how those features were first traced which have resulted in the complicated behavior and fixed attitudes which characterize you to-day. Some features of the portrait were drilled in by education, some are the result of deliberately organized cultures, and some seem to arise spontaneously as an unconscious reaction to our environment.

Now one question which we are curious to investigate is as to how these various patterns originated, which are so generally accepted and which influence our behavior so vitally. We shall attempt to answer this as well as to investigate the other question as to how a man is made to accept a certain behavior pattern in such fashion that he regards it as his portrait. It is of course quite possible for him, like Adam, to feel that he is something he is not, and probably there are many whose concepts of themselves diverge noticeably from reality. But no matter how absurd an idea I may have of myself, it is certain that every act I perform, every word I speak, every attitude I assume, and every feeling of happiness or discontent I experience, is vitally affected and controlled by the concept of myself which I have adopted—this portrait which hangs in our mental gallery and of which we say, "This is I."

2. THE CREATIVE POWER OF THE PORTRAIT

There is some divergence of opinion as to the extent to which it is possible to change the personality of any man. Every one has hopes that his abilities can be developed, and his intellect enlarged, and his character modified to a certain degree. The method of changing or developing the self that we adopt for our children and sometimes for ourselves also, is that of teaching or practice and discipline. The Behaviorist would say, we condition their reactions. This we call education, and apply in all our schools, in the expectation that, by compelling children to learn certain lessons and repeat certain tasks, their personality will be inflated by the knowledge pumped into it, and that by constant practice their abilities will become facilities. Those who consider that their children deserve the term "bad," often have hopes that they will be reformed by this process. Another system of education is to supply the pupil with the portrait of some hero, in the hope that it will exercise upon him so subtle a fascination that he will adopt it as his ideal, or, in other words, that he will see in it a picture of the self he wants to be. It will then become his ambition to imitate his hero. This relieves his teachers from much strain, for the boy will then discipline himself, and will perform any task or learn without coercion any lesson that aids him in his ambition. The method is not general, for it is found that boys often show a lack of enthusiasm for the ideals presented them by their teachers.

Though education is the standard method of developing personality, the character is often modified in a more startling fashion by the transmission of emotions from some group which the individual may chance to join.

In contrast with these recognized methods of developing or changing personality is the method to which we have called attention—that of changing the idea which a person has of himself and thus inducing him to accept a different pattern of behavior. No one would venture to assert that a man's entire nature can be changed in this way. A man once presented himself and confided to me that he was Beethoven reincarnate. This concept, which he held sincerely, did not create in him the ability to write a Moonlight Sonata, or even to play it with unusual skill. If we expect a man's abilities or intelligence to keep pace with his portrait of himself, we are doomed to disappointment. They are developed by the sterner methods and stiff drill that characterize the usual boy's school. They grow chiefly by conscious effort—while the effect of the portrait seems to be chiefly in the realm of the subconscious.

A man's capabilities are largely the gift of his ancestors. He can expand them but to change them he would have to alter his grandparents. This applies to the stuff out of which both body and mind are made and involves such attributes as form and strength, and aptitudes for sports or handicrafts. It will require more than a change of concepts to get him a good memory or imagination, or a capability for learning languages or mathematics or mechanics, when he has none. His perceptive abilities come under the same rule. The sensitiveness to sound, form, color and beauty in general, which is the fundamental equipment of the artist, musician and author—all this we have excellent authority for believing to be born in a man and not made.

When it comes to a man's feelings and behavior, however, the situation is quite different. What a man wants or whom he hates, depends vitally upon what he thinks he is. What he desires and what he dislikes, what he hungers for and what disgusts him, his affection and his hatred for those about him—all these are sometimes determined and often modified by his concept of himself. They are very different if he considers himself an aristocratic man of the world, from what they are if he regards himself as an untrammelled child of nature. We have noted that they are vastly different when a man regards himself as a Pharisee, from when he considers himself a Christian. This is also true of the emotions that stimulate or inhibit him, such as rage and fear, enthusiasm or ennui, reverence or horror, desire of approval or shame. The same insult that will arouse rage if he thinks himself a prince, will awaken fear if he is trained to think himself a slave. Our illustrations indicate that emotions that centre in the sense of well-being, such as happiness and discontent, joy and misery, peace and restlessness, are all determined largely by the portrait he forms of himself. The same service that would bring happiness to one who knew himself to be a poor man would rouse discontent in one who thought himself a millionaire. A man's choices and those attitudes that aid him in carrying out his purposes, such as courage, perseverance and endurance, are all influenced powerfully by the idea he holds of himself. We have known a man in the South to be radically changed when made to believe that he had negro blood in him. A man's idea of himself affects his decisions and his assurance in carrying them out. If he thinks he is a vacillating neurotic of feeble health, or a sinner pursued by bad luck and disaster, he behaves differently from what he does if he thinks he is a man with a star and protected by fate, as did Napoleon and Cæsar. It would therefore seem to be true that although a man's *capabilities* cannot be transformed by giving him a new concept of himself, it can alter the use he makes of his abilities and the delight he takes in them, and the whole course of his life.

To give a man a new concept of himself produces in real life and subconsciously the same effect that we see produced artificially and consciously in the drama. Here a man assumes the self of some character in history and literature, and behaves as if he were that person. To act well he must conceive that he really is that person, in such fashion that his behavior and even his feelings spring naturally from this concept of himself. It does not permanently affect the character and happiness of the actor, as it did in the case of the so-called Adam, because though he may yield to the illusion for the moment, both he and his audience know that it is not real or permanent. It is a mere imitation of external behavior; underneath the actor is well aware who he really is, and so is his audience.

The experience approaches nearer reality in the case of a person who plays for some time a part in life, as in the case of a gentleman who lives for a time as a tramp, or a lady from Fifth Avenue who takes a position in a factory or laundry, or a waitress who dresses up and makes the world think she is a leader of fashion. Such cases have been witnessed by every one, but though they produce a change in behavior and feeling, and although such a person may feel that he really is the person he portrays, there is nevertheless an unreality about it, and the behavior must remain assumed and to a certain extent insincere.

Another and a commoner phase of the artificial assumption of a concept of self is found among professional men. To succeed many a doctor feels that he must assume a "bedside manner." He cannot be himself but he must adopt a new self which is that of the typical doctor, and which awakens confidence in his patients, and he must avoid the little natural exuberances to which he is prone to give way. He does not at first feel that he really is a doctor, and he may feel much of a fraud in prescribing and directing the lives of others. Little by little he comes to feel that he really *is* this assumed self. He *is* a doctor, and his behavior becomes the natural result of the concept. The same is true of the clergyman, the lawyer or the undertaker. A certain pattern is assumed until it becomes the real self. This self is more real than the dramatic self, but there is nevertheless an element of artificiality about it which is felt by all sincere persons.

We have spoken of the artificial assumption of a self in the drama or in playing a part in life. Something of this occurs in the education of children. The child is trained to play the part of a gentleman or lady. It is corrected again and again in table manners and in behavior until the part that was at first so unnatural and irksome becomes a second nature. The reactions become spontaneous and the girl feels at last, "I am a lady." It becomes impossible to her, as such, to eat with her knife, and imperative to keep her hands clean and her dress neat. It must remain true, however, that a pattern of personality produced entirely by education and discipline from outsiders must be artificial to a certain extent. There will remain the consciousness of another real self underneath. Another element besides external discipline is necessary before the girl can feel that she really is the lady she has been taught to be.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIVIDUAL PORTRAIT

I. OUTLINES DRAWN BY THE FAMILY

It seems somewhat mysterious that a man should receive a pattern of personality, and sometimes a most disagreeable one, and promptly accept it as a portrait of his true self, and shape his whole life in accordance with it. Some of these portraits we accept meekly from our family before we reach years of discretion. The only way in which a little child can get an idea of himself is from the family circle that surrounds him. They may be reticent about his virtues but they usually inform him of his defects. Their opinion, therefore, has much to do with his portrait of himself.

If a boy is an only child with a doting mother, he is likely to have it constantly impressed upon him that he is the brightest, handsomest boy in the neighborhood, and that his character is the sweetest and most lovable ever known. Consequently he is led to expect that his every wish will be granted and that every discomfort will be removed from his path. It is also borne in upon him that his health is very delicate and that he cannot survive sitting in a draft or going without his rubbers. If he is with his mother most of the time and no conflicting opinion or standard is brought in to modify his reactions, it is likely that there will be built up in him a concept of himself as a smart, handsome youth of delicate health, who deserves much of the world, a concept which may be somewhat divergent from the facts and which, whether true or false, is bound to cause him much unhappiness.

If, however, he is brought up by an embittered stepmother, with a number of hostile stepbrothers, it is likely to be impressed upon him that he is ugly and awkward, uncouth in manner, stupid and perverse, coarse and vulgar in behavior, and that no one could possibly see in him anything to like. His brothers by combining against him and bullying him will perhaps make him feel that he is cowardly and yellow, that he is not wanted in their group, and that every one shuns him. Unless he is strong enough to react violently against these influences, it is very probable that there would be built up in him that concept of himself of which psychologists make so much at present under the title of "inferiority complex." Such a concept may or may not correspond with fact. In either case it is no more likely to produce a happy youth than the concept of the opposite type, just described.

Between these two extremes we have the more normal home where fair-minded parents do what they can to give a child a true estimate of his prevailing faults and good qualities, and to counteract any tendency to an exaggerated idea of his virtues or sins. Here a boy is often inoculated with a pattern which is the product of family tradition. He is brought up to feel that he is his father's son, that no son of his father could do a dishonorable deed or an inhospitable act, or play the coward. He comes to feel this family pattern as a part of his self, and becomes conscious that his father's self, his father's desires, and opinions, and temper, are in him also. Even if he does not at once feel that the pattern of his personality coincides with this family tradition, it may be received as an ideal toward which the boy tries consciously to shape his life.

It cannot be claimed that this is the only way in which the pattern of the self is formed. The family group like every other group, modifies the pattern of the individual not only by giving him a concept of himself, but by communicating emotion directly. It transmits its prejudices, religious, social and political, whether directed against Unitarians, Jews, or Democrats. It communicates its real enthusiasms, be they for Chopin or Kipling or golf or the Monroe Doctrine. It kindles in others an appreciation of beauty in nature or in art when that beauty is truly felt by the group. It transmits its reverence for sacred things, and its disgust at things that are ugly and base, its love for that which is fine and noble. All this creates a real change in the self, for the emotion is actually transmitted and often takes root. A man has acknowledged to me that he has been a different person since he was aroused as a child by the enthusiasm of those about him for a beautiful sunset.

It is somewhat peculiar that the average parent is quite unconscious of the effect he is producing on the character of the child by methods such as these. He usually prides himself on the effective discipline by which he is enforcing some pattern of behavior and fails to note the effect of his opinions and feelings. Parental discipline enforces conformity to its standards by praise and blame and by punishment and the compulsion of authority. Shame is the great weapon of the group to reduce all to conformity. The individual is ashamed to do anything or wear anything at which the group points the finger of scorn. In the family group, by scorn and rebuke, the children are made ashamed of dirty faces and bad manners. Unfortunately when a child's acts are controlled by shame and fear he feels that they are compelled by outside influence and not a true expression of himself. The outside view of a child whose face is clean because he is made ashamed or afraid to have it dirty is the same as that of the child who is clean because he hates dirt, but the inside view is quite different. One feels free, the other, under compulsion. If the child is clean because it has been made ashamed to be dirty, its behavior is not real. It is merely the effect of the opinion of the group, and apart from the group it would remain dirty. If, however, a feeling of disgust for dirt has been transmitted to the child, its cleanliness is then a true expression of the self, and is not dependent on the opinion of others. It is in general the great defect of education and discipline, both in the family and in the school, that the behavior it produces is the result of fear and shame, and is thus dependent on others and not the expression of the natural desires and feelings of the subject. One is often distressingly conscious of an artificial self in certain persons, constructed of habits formed under discipline, which seem annoyingly incongruous with the real person. Sometimes a disastrously unexpected result is produced when parents are working through discipline to create a pattern of a certain conventional type in a child, while unconsciously, by the other two methods mentioned, they are creating a pattern of quite a different sort underneath.

The external habits of a pious, polite and ladylike girl may have been developed, while emotions of quite a different sort may have been unconsciously transmitted. Beneath the humble, obedient, unselfish pattern which they have sought to create by discipline, the parents may find that they have unconsciously given the child a concept of herself as a creature of superior clay who has a right to her own way in all things, and who feels that the world was created to supply her every whim. In fact, parents are continually being surprised that in spite of their excellent training, a self of an entirely different type has been created in their child by these other methods of which they have been quite unconscious.

All children do not accept with equal meekness the ideas of their parents about them. Some, who are continually told that they are weak and ugly and bad, resent it and acquire an assurance that they are misjudged, and a determination to "show the world." It requires an unusually strong nature to resist continual adverse suggestion, and a boy who can do this usually makes a large dent in the walls of Fate.

There are then these three ways in which a primary pattern is formed in a child by the family group,—the way of discipline which consciously shapes the habits and external behavior, the method of transmitting emotions, prejudices and attitudes directly, and finally this method which we have shown to be of such vital importance,—that of shaping a concept of the self. It should be possible to combine the first and third,—that is, so to condition the reactions of a child that it would be conscious of a change in the concept of itself, but few seem to understand how this is done.

While the family is supplying the child with a portrait of himself in some such way as has been described, the picture is complicated by some ancestral portraits and historic patterns which are superimposed and which often add an incongruous touch. It is thought imperative to put upon the child some religious pattern. He must be taught to feel that he is a Catholic or a Jew or a Methodist. Each of these patterns has a very definite outline of conduct and consciousness. The child must have a racial and national pattern. He will feel very differently if he is brought up to consider himself a negro from what he will if he is white. The French and Russians and British have standardized national patterns also, and the child is brought up to accept one of them. As such he takes pride in his racial characteristics and points the finger of scorn at those who do not share them. Concepts of this type we term general or standardized patterns to distinguish them from the more individual concepts. They are very potent in their influence and greatly modify the individual concept when superimposed upon it. Further discussion of the standardized pattern must be deferred until we have followed out more completely the process by which the individual concept is formed and accepted.

2. TOUCHES ADDED BY THE GANG

At the age of ten or twelve there is a second group which begins to act upon the boy and which tends to supply him with a secondary pattern of his personality. This is the group of boys of his own age, and its standards and feelings are usually quite different from those of the family group. If the pattern which the mother is seeking to put upon her son is that of a polite, virtuous little boy with a white collor and clean hands, the ideal of the boy's group or gang is likely to be that of an Indian Chief or pirate or at least a cowboy who abhors conventional collars and cuffs, whose conversation is interlarded with strange oaths and who regards polite formalities as the appurtenances of a "sissy boy" and who prefers a fight to anything else. The gang has a discipline of its own by which it enforces its ideal, and the boy who refuses to fight and persistently retains his white collar and refined phraseology and society manners is often hazed and persecuted until he learns to imitate the tough character which is the group ideal, and to disguise the fact that he still feels that he is something of a mother's boy, and not at all the rough desperado whose manners he tries to copy. If this were all, we should merely find a second layer of superimposed behavior enforced by discipline upon a self which perhaps rebelled against both types. This indeed does happen in many cases, and one finds boys who, when at home, are models of pious deportment, and who, with the gang, can rival the toughest, who yet have a self underneath which is quite different from both of these assumed patterns and know them to be a fraud.

The power of the gang to alter behavior in a boy is due largely to his sensitiveness to ridicule and to the inhibitory power of shame. A boy suffers keenly if he finds that his dress or language or conduct diverges noticeably from the standard set by the gang, and this sense of shame forces him into conformity even when he rebels against it. Such discipline could only produce artificiality. But like the family, the gang has other methods of transforming character than that of discipline. It also transmits feeling directly and usually succeeds in inspiring new members with enthusiasm for the life of the cowboy or baseball star or whatever its ideal may be. It communicates a scorn for cowardice and for piety of a certain type and transmits a score of other enthusiasms, likes and dislikes, together with a contempt for many things hitherto admired, so that the boy's elderly relatives soon begin to feel that he is quite a different person.

There is another tendency at this period which has a striking effect on the character of a boy. This appears in his fondness for dramatization. He is always playing a part, and fancies himself now an Indian chief, now questing knight or aerial ace, and he acts the part with such imagination that for the moment he really is it. The value of such dramatization is that it gives a boy continual opportunities for trying himself out. He finds where the pattern does not fit,—where he falls short in courage or ability or in liking for the job, and thus by finding out what he is not, little by little he forms a more definite concept of what he really is. Perhaps few have thought that such dramatizing of various patterns of the self is a valuable part of education but it is probable that it does more to develop a boy and give him a true sense of what he is than any other one thing. It is as if he were trying on a number of different selves until he finds the one which fits and which he can accept as his real self.

In addition to the influence of the gang there is also that of the teacher and the school to consider at this period. Its action was formerly that of the coercive type which produces standardized behavior by means of the birch rod or moral suasion. But the teacher also supplies some new ideals which, though at variance with those of the gang, sometimes gain a hold. If a boy is stirred by the story of Columbus or the personality of Lincoln it is quite possible that he may start in to discipline himself in the effort to conform himself to the pattern. If he does, he will probably be too shy to let it be known, and he may still give his teacher some anxious moments even when he is educating himself in accord with some fine pattern.

Some boys begin to plan what they will be in life at this period and are stirred by the thrilling thought of becoming a trolley conductor or a locomotive engineer. Thus, little by little, his ideal takes a shape adapted to his abilities and interests and a form which he is capable of realizing.

Thus during this period when the discipline of the gang and of the school is being applied and new feelings are being transmitted from the group of boys, the pattern of the self is also modified by ideals or concepts of the various selves he wants to become. And in addition through continual testing of himself amid all these conflicting influences, both by playing parts and in his own person, he is arriving at a truer concept of the self he really is. Few of these concepts are permanent. They are progressive adjustments. The idea of himself that he gained from his mother may disappear, and also that which he held for a time as the leader of a gang, under the influence of their admiring comments. He may hope that he is a little like Lincoln or the Chevalier Bayard, and yet see where his qualities fall short of those heroes. Thus through the interaction of discipline, ideal and experiment, his first independent concept of himself may at length be born.

3. NEW OUTLINES ADDED IN ADOLESCENCE

In the period just described the influences brought to bear upon the boy whether through the gang, or through his teachers, or his father, are predominantly masculine as contrasted with the earlier period when the mother influence was supreme. In the years from sixteen to twenty, the boy is once more subjected to feminine influence in a way that modifies the self most vitally. He has been quite indifferent to girls, but now their opinion and standards begin to have a powerful effect upon him. The mixed group of boys and girls of which he now becomes a member is as effective in shaping the pattern of his self as were the family group and the gang. It has its standards of dress and behavior and its ideal, which may be that of the dashing man of the world. These it enforces, like the other groups, by a discipline in which ridicule bears the chief part. A boy who finds he is wearing the wrong kind of necktie or collar at a dance is as much ashamed as if he were caught in a theft. Awkwardness in behavior or a *faux pas* in conversation with a group of girls causes him agonies of embarrassment. He tries his best to appear to be the kind of man who is admired by the girls of his acquaintance. Feeling runs so high at this period that a great change in the pattern of the self is often produced. The boy may come to regard himself as hopelessly uncouth and undesirable, or as a successful lady-killer and a fascinating society man. It is of course evident that in the course of normal growth the self is continually modified by new desires which spring into being. In childhood the strongest desires seem to be for food and play. In the growing boy adventure becomes more important than food. In youth the desires associated with sex come to the front and exercise a powerful influence. Certain psychoanalysts think that all the real changes in the self spring from them. It is probable, however, that such authors deal chiefly with an abnormal and neurotic type in which the sex impulses are exaggerated, as is the desire for alcohol in the drunkard. In the normal boy they are powerful at times and very upsetting when they first emerge, but in comparison with his dominant interests, they can hardly be regarded as more than a very influential side issue. As with food, he feels their imperative call at times, but he usually returns to his other interests.

The psychical phenomenon which is termed "falling in love" has much to do with the formation of the self at this period. While the foundation of the experience is the physical element of sex attraction, there has been built up through the ages a mental concept of the lover which has great influence on the character and behavior, and involves a real transformation of the pattern of the self. This does not occur in the primitive savage but is the result of a long process of mental evolution. The concept of the lover has been developed in literature and art, and, under the stimulus of sex feeling, a man assumes the rôle with more or less success, and may become for the time being quite another person. Just as a man is transformed to some extent when he is brought to feel that he is a Methodist or a Communist, the consciousness that he is in love also affects his idea of himself and his behavior. But while other concepts are impressed upon him by the group, he can usually realize that he is in love without assistance from them. Another peculiar feature is that, while in other cases the development of the self is affected by the whole group, when a man is in love the group sinks into the background, and he is influenced by the opinion and standards of one person whose approval or contempt is of supreme moment. Through the unbalanced judgments of a whimsical girl, whose opinions of him he accepts as if they were Divine authority, he may come to feel that he is a worthless worm, or that he is a fascinating hero. It is therefore a very critical if not perilous period in character development. The opinion of a group has a certain stability and value,—that of an individual may be erratic and destructive if it is accepted as a supreme authority. The danger to the self at this time is, then, the upsetting of normal standards and stable concepts by violent emotional feeling, and by the biassed opinion of some individual, which throws the man's concept of himself entirely out of focus and may give him a totally false idea of what he really is. Between the opinion of the group on the one hand and the violent feelings of sex on the other, a man often has difficulty in adjusting himself and may end with a most distorted picture of himself. If the group regards sex feeling as sinful, a normal man can be made to feel that he is a terrible sinner and can be driven to the extremity of remorse.

During this perilous period of adolescence, then, a boy's opinion of himself may be modified in many ways, —first by the discipline of the group which changes his external behavior, second by the new powerful emotions which emerge and give him a new idea of himself, third by the opinion of the person with whom he falls in love, and finally by any one who makes use of these new powerful emotions to drive home a new idea of himself.

CHAPTER III

LINEAMENTS DERIVED FROM ANCIENT PORTRAITS

I. FUNDAMENTAL OUTLINES

If you contemplate making any alterations in the portrait which at present you recognize as yourself, or if you are sufficiently interested in any or sundry children to wish to take a creative part in painting the portrait which they will regard as themselves, it is most important to study with some care how these portraits have been put together in past ages. If you are a composite of various types of the past, it is interesting to know how they were created, and it is valuable to be able to decide which elements in the composite you wish to eliminate. Also you will find it surprising to note how certain of these ancient types are being stamped upon your children by the same old methods and when you understand the method you will wish to exercise a little more care in selecting the elements which shall go into the composition.

For this reason we turn back to discover why it is that men differ in the conformation of their souls, and also what are the standardized patterns which are stamped upon them, and how these were created and manipulated. For it is just as possible for you to create them to-day as in ancient times.

In the complicated portrait which represents your self there are certain lineaments derived from portraits painted years ago. There is no one to-day who does not bear the mark of some standardized pattern. According to report the primitive cave man escaped the constraint of these cramping behavior patterns. But to-day if one ventures so much as to say, "I am a man," he is at once involved in a pattern with a complicated type of behavior and a vast number of attitudes which we recognize as the characteristics of a human being. If he failed to keep to the pattern he would be made to regard himself as a brute and not a man. When a man reached the point where he could say, "I am a Spartan," or "I am a Brahmin," or "I am a Samurai," it meant that he had accepted a standardized pattern of a very complicated type, involving a great variety of special attitudes, and a type of behavior which distinguished him from men of other types.

Aside from their outward appearance, men differ from one another in at least two noticeable respects, first in their achievements, and second in their attitudes. Their achievements depend upon their capabilities, and their opportunities. Their abilities may be increased by education but we do not expect them to be radically changed. It is in the man's attitudes that we find the means of changing and transforming the self. The spring of all action is in emotion and desire, and it is these that set the various abilities in motion and produce achievement. Emotion and desire are erratic and changeable and therefore are unreliable as a criterion of character. Attitudes are stabilized emotions. If an Armenian meets a man and arouses a feeling of dislike, that is a mere emotion. If the man has a feeling of dislike or contempt for all Armenians, that is an attitude or a permanently conditioned reaction. Habitual emotions directed toward certain persons or objects we may term attitudes. Thus a man may have an attitude of approval or condemnation toward prohibition, he may admire or despise Jews. He may have an attitude of trust or suspicion toward strangers, an attitude of faith or doubt toward the doctrines of the church. He may reverence or scorn wealth.

You cannot discuss politics, religion, art or science with any mature man without discovering that he has very decided attitudes, which you may be inclined to term prejudices, on many subjects. When it comes to matters like cheating or grafting or discourtesy, if he has not a strong attitude, you think he cannot be a gentleman. If you think his attitude in politics is entirely determined by intelligence and that you can alter it by logic, you are doomed to disappointment. It is a question of emotional bias, or conditioned reflexes. The minute prohibition or communism is mentioned, the average man feels an instinctive emotional reaction for or against it. The attitudes a man assumes are usually corollaries from the concept he has formed of himself. It is the attitudes of a man that determine his character. His friends know what reaction to expect from him in given circumstances because they know his attitudes. If he were governed merely by sporadic emotions, he could hardly be said to have a character. It may be said that a man's character, as we see it or feel it, is the sum of his attitudes. The concept which he holds of himself must affect his attitudes, though it cannot alter his abilities.

Among attitudes there is a large class to which we attach the term "moral," and which seem to affect the shape of a man's character most vitally. Every one seems to have a very strong feeling that certain things must be done and certain others must not be done. This is due to the manner in which his reflexes have been conditioned in childhood. Formerly this feeling was termed the conscience or the moral nature. A person with a moral nature is one who has this feeling so developed that he assumes toward every possible act one of three attitudes. These three possible attitudes are expressed in the phrases, "It is wrong," "It is right," and "It is my duty," or in other words, "It must not be done," "It may be done," and "It must be done." When you say, "It is wrong," this is more than a mere opinion. If you say, "It is right," or "It is all right," your opinion may have no emotional content, but when a man states of certain conduct, "It is wrong," or "It is my duty," if he means what he says there is a strong emotional bias behind his words. The attitude, "It is wrong," normally involves a feeling akin to horror of the act. It is this feeling that you note when a mid-Victorian lady hears of the doings of the younger generation, and which you describe by saying, "She is shocked!" When one feels, "It is my duty," it indicates that there is present a similar feeling of horror at the thought of leaving a certain act undone. A man of honor has such a feeling of horror at the thought of stealing, or of any base or indecent act, or toward anything he thinks wrong. A man trained in the old school would have a similar sense of horror at the thought of not going to church or failing to say his prayers, or neglecting any obligation,—in other words, at failing to do his duty. The feeling is not as powerful an emotion as horror, but would seem to be a derivative from it.

It is this strange attitude, so difficult to define, and perhaps more akin to horror than to anything else, that delimits the self most completely, and best serves to distinguish the character of one man from his neighbor. Since every man apparently takes toward every possible act one of these three attitudes, "It is wrong," or "It must not be done"; "It is right," or "It may be done"; and "It is my duty," or "It must be done," it means that his conduct is definitely limited and shaped in accordance with the lines thus drawn. These attitudes are so strongly reinforced by emotion that they are felt to be an essential part of the self, and every man naturally includes them in his concept of himself when he speaks of himself as a man of honor or a man of responsibility. We find that the various standardized selves are distinguished from one another by the way in which these emotional lines are drawn. In other words, their morals differ as well as their manners. When these attitudes are changed, it involves a radical change in the self, and the most deep-seated differences in the selves of different men are the result of these attitudes. Conversely, when a man is trained to a certain concept of himself it involves a certain definite emotional attitude by which his acts are distributed in these three categories in accordance with a certain standard.

Characters of the most divergent type have been produced in a fashion truly miraculous by giving to men different concepts of themselves, and thus shifting the barriers of right and wrong. This can readily be seen if one compares two men of whom one has been taught to consider himself a Roman noble, while the other has been trained to regard himself as a slave. The noble feels it is his duty to maintain discipline by beating to death, if necessary, any slave who misunderstands or disobeys his orders. The slave feels that it is wrong for him to resist or rebel against any act of brutality from his master, and that it is his duty to regard himself as a mere chattel and beast of burden. In India the Brahmin feels that it is wrong for him to be touched by even the shadow of the Pariah, and the Pariah feels that it is duty to keep himself apart as a foul thing full of contamination, and wrong even to approach the neighborhood of a man of higher caste. It is easy to see what a totally different picture of himself the one of these has from the other, and that this difference is defined by the way in which these barriers of right and wrong are drawn. A similar effect was produced in the case of the lady of the eighteenth century who felt that it was wrong for her to enter the sacred shrines of the church or to intrude in the affairs of men or to show any physical vigor and mentality, or any real knowledge of life, or to speak of any subject relating to sex. The flapper of to-day is conscious of a self unlimited by any barriers such as those and is therefore quite a different person, though she may have otherwise quite the same capabilities. The world is made up of people who have adopted standardized selves of this sort, which are differentiated chiefly by those emotional barriers which define the field of right and wrong. These barriers have been built up by a long process of training in which the reactions of the child were conditioned in conformity with a certain pattern. It is of interest to investigate how these patterns came to be formed and accepted with all their disagreeable limitations. The process may start as training from without, but at some point the child accepts the pattern and says: "I am this," and from that point the concept begins its creative work.

2. THE ORIGINS OF CHARACTER

It is the formation of definite attitudes that makes civilization and social life possible. If a man did exactly what he wanted and obeyed every impulse and passion he would be very difficult to live with. He would seize your choicest possessions and beat up or kill any one who stood in his way. He would not obey any ruler, or work with others to any common end. Man does not seem to have been created with social instincts like the bee and ant, who seem impelled by some inward force to work together for the welfare of the community and to sacrifice themselves for the good of all. The primitive impulses of man, like those of the lion and eagle, seem to urge him to get what he wants for himself and to destroy those who stand in his way. There have always existed in him certain feelings and desires which were of aid in social life and which could help to bind men in a group and make possible a certain amount of co-operation and community feeling. But like all emotions they were variable and sporadic, and soon driven out by rage, or fear, or hunger, or cupidity. To make man a social being it was necessary to stabilize the social emotions, and to hold in check the destructive passions and desires by forming certain permanent attitudes. In other words, it was necessary to create a new kind of self by conditioning all his reactions and adapting them to the group. The standardized patterns thus produced began so far back in history that it is difficult for us to reconstruct the process by which they were formed. Indeed we accept these attitudes or reactions that constitute the so-called moral nature as so completely a property of humanity that it does not occur to the ordinary man that they are the product of a long period of emotional culture.

It must have been a problem to find any emotion strong enough to counteract the powerful passions of the primitive man and keep him from disrupting the group. If a man can be thoroughly scared he may be prevented from harmful acts. This is conditioning by fear. But even that does not always avail. Perhaps the only emotion which is adequate is that type of horror which is compounded of fear and disgust in varying proportions, together with a fear of mysterious supernatural forces. The history of the race seems to show that this emotion can be used as a conditioning agent to check and overcome even the most violent rage or desire. If a man is scared out of a certain act he will probably return to it later. But if he is filled with disgust and horror of the act, he ceases to desire it. A man can be checked from stealing the food of his neighbor by threat of the sword, but if he is convinced that the food is poisonous or filthy, he ceases to desire it. It seems to have been this compound feeling of fear combined with disgust which was used by primitive tribes as a barrier between right and wrong, and it was by means of it that it was possible to create standardized selves of such astonishing diversity.

3. THE BEGINNINGS OF CONSCIENCE AND THE TABOO

Any one who travels among savages is impressed by the constant fears that govern them. Such fears are quite different in intensity from anything experienced in a civilized community. When fear is entertained toward something that inspires both awe and loathing at the same time, we then see that emotion, which we term horror. Fortunately, a civilized man seldom experiences it. It is the feeling an ignorant negro might experience if a loathsome corpse should suddenly rise and clasp him in its arms. It is characteristic of all primitive races to believe that nature is animated by malevolent spirits from which emanates an evil force or noxious contagion which they picture as so terrible, and loathsome, and mysterious, that they have toward it almost invariably something of this feeling of horror. All disasters, storms, volcanic eruptions, and all sickness, are believed to be due to these mysterious forces. Many tribes do not believe there is such a thing as natural death. Death is always the result of malevolent destructive powers, either human or supernatural. These spirits, or the noxious contagion that emanates from them, inhabit certain places and objects, by contact with which a man becomes infected so that sickness, or death, or disaster, is sure to follow. Sometimes it is an ancient tree, or a dark valley, or a strange rock, that is thus haunted, sometimes it is an animal or plant. Some tribes of Africa shrink from a chameleon with horror. In West Africa they consider the liver of the crocodile so noxious that any one who kills a crocodile is suspected of the intent to destroy his neighbors by its contagion.

Nearly all tribes regard a dead body as the seat of such evil forces that to touch it affects a man with a noxious contagion so dangerous that his presence is shunned until he has been purified. The Persians carried this feeling so far that a dead human body was not allowed to touch either earth, fire, or water, lest it should defile them. It was therefore exposed on posts, or on the Towers of Silence, until it was destroyed by birds. The early Persians divided all animals and plants into two classes, the good and the bad, or the pure and the impure. The dog was good, the cat was noxious. In certain sections of India the pig is noxious, while the wild boar is not, and may be eaten. A Hindu would be hopelessly defiled by eating the flesh of a cow, a Mohammedan or a Jew would regard with horror the eating of pigs' flesh. The Masai, who live chiefly on milk and its products, which they regard as sacred, are allowed to eat meat before they make a war raid. First, however, they must take an emetic and a purge, that the milk they have eaten may not be defiled by contact with meat. An orthodox Jew told the author that his children had the same horror at the thought of eating meat and milk together at the same meal, or with the same utensils, that they would have at the idea of committing murder.

Strangers are not viewed as possible angels, but as beings charged with evil contagion. Many tribes will not admit them until they have been purified by fire or water. If a European touches the food of a Hindu he will regard it with horror and throw it away. In many tribes it is believed that a poisonous contagion emanates from women. In New Britain a man who has had intercourse with a woman is not allowed to approach a wounded man as the evil influence might cause his death. The Hebrews required women to be purified once a month, and always after child birth, lest they should bring evil. The Greeks also had this idea of a noxious influence, which they termed "miasma," and which radiated from certain objects or acts, and infected those who came in contact with it.

Each tribe had its own list of objects that were miasmatic, and regarded with horror the thought of touching or eating them. When our friends shrink in horror from a snake or spider, although it has been carefully explained that the creature is quite harmless, they demonstrate that the old miasmatic feeling still lingers even among the most cultivated folk. In the South Sea Islands, objects or places thus haunted by evil were said to have a taboo upon them. The native has the same feeling about touching a tabooed object or entering a tabooed place that a sensitive person might have about lying down in a coffin beside a corpse. They obey not because they respect the law, but because the object or place awakens a sense of horror in them. Here, then, we find in each primitive tribe a class of acts which must not be done, and which therefore might be termed wrong. Although they had no ethical significance, the native felt toward them the same horror that a civilized man would feel at the thought of committing murder.

4. FETICHES AND THE SENSE OF DUTY

All the spiritual forces that surrounded the primitive man were not supposed to be evil. There were the spirits of his ancestors and various other beneficent forces which when propitiated would bring him aid in his troubles. Some nations, as the Japanese, thought that all their deceased ancestors became gods and exercised some control over the forces of nature. Others believed in gods of the sun and rain and fire, and others again in a vague beneficent force which resided in certain objects or places. A whale's tooth was such a sacred object in Fiji, and when presented with a certain ceremonial it was necessary that any request proffered in its name should be granted. When the tooth was offered the donor cried out "Mana! Mana!" The word Mana has been generally used in the South Seas to indicate this powerful spirit force resident in many objects and persons. It was sometimes used of harmful forces, but for the sake of clearness it will be used here of the beneficent powers, and the term "miasma" will be applied to the noxious forces. Any object possessed of mana can be used to avert the powers of evil. Such objects were not necessarily beautiful, and we are fortunate that our hope of Divine aid does not depend upon them to-day. In India where the cow is possessed of mana the walls of the houses and the sides of the wells are often plastered with cow dung to keep them pure from evil contagion. The Dinkas in Africa, and other tribes where the cow is sacred, roll themselves in the ashes of cow dung, and mix the urine of the cow with their drink, for a similar reason. Fortunately most tribes regard water as possessing mana, and it is sprinkled or poured over a man to remove contagion. Certain grasses in Africa are efficacious against evil. An object possessing mana is usually called a fetich. Nearly every native in the primitive parts of Africa will be found to carry a little object or package attached to his wrist or fastened around his neck. It may be a lion's tooth, or a leopard's claw, or a hair from an elephant's tail. This protects him from evil powers and gives him strength. But more potent fetiches are made up by the witch doctors. They will fill an antelope horn with powdered brains and bits of a child's finger, or of a human eye, with hairs from a lion and nail parings from a chief, all packed in with gums and resin. With this the native feels entirely safe. If he has a powerful enough fetich he will even volunteer to stand in front of a man with a gun and allow him to fire point-blank, so absolute is his faith in the power of his amulet to protect him. With it he feels content and at peace, without it he feels as uncomfortable as an old-time New

Englander would feel at starting out to war without saying his prayers, or as a Catholic would feel if he had not been to mass or confession. Just as in the taboo we find the beginning of the class of things that must not be done, and are therefore wrong, so here in the fetich we find a beginning of that class of things that must be done, which if left undone create a sense of discomfort or of impending misfortune, and which are therefore duties.

The fetich is by no means the only source of the sense of duty. It is believed by most tribes that the spirits of their ancestors, or their Mana, give certain definite commands which must be obeyed, or they are offended and withdraw their protection, or punish. Most tribal customs have this ostensible basis. Usually there is a certain animal, or totem, which is associated with the ancestry of the tribe, and which must be treated with marked respect or dire results will follow. The Hindus make way for the cow in their streets, and bow to her, or bring her offerings in the Cow Temple at Benares.

Rules pertaining to marriage and death are supposed to be ordained by the ancestral spirits. Any violation would bring a curse. In New Britain there are two clans, Mara Mara and Pikalaba, that live together in each village. A man must take his wife from the clan to which he does not belong. If he married within the clan, terrible disaster would result. His neighbors would be so afraid of being involved in the disaster that they would put him to death or drive him out. They do not punish to enforce the law as we do. Their idea is simply to get rid of the vengeance of the Mana or escape the evil contagion of the Miasma to which the offender has exposed them.

The life of the native is composed of innumerable acts that must be performed because the Mana would be angered if they were left undone, and the contagion of the Miasma would fall upon him and expose him to every known disaster. Circumcision is such a duty among the tribes of New Guinea and Fiji, as well as among the Masai and other herdsmen of East Africa, and among most West African tribes. In Fiji when a chief died, one at least of his wives was strangled, and buried with him. James Calvert in his book, "Fiji and the Fijians," gives an unforgetable account of his visit to the dying King of Somosomo, Tuithakau, in 1845. In the half light of the great hall, where silence reigned, he saw a seated figure swathed in white, and on either side of her a group of eight men pulling on a white cord. It was the Queen, a woman much beloved and the mother of the King's children. It was around her neck that the white cord was passed twice. In the room was only the atmosphere of sorrow and sympathy. She had to die or disaster would fall. When Ra Mbithi died seventeen of his wives were strangled. In his famous description of Tonga, Mariner describes the death of a Fijian there. No such custom obtained in Tonga, but the wife insisted that they should strangle her, and was so unhappy and wretched that the Tongans finally granted her request. Here was an example of the sense of duty operating where public sentiment, instead of enforcing it, was actually against it. The woman was impelled by a dread of leaving the act undone. It was her duty to be strangled. Every one is familiar with the Indian custom of suttee. Even after it was abolished by British rule, the widows made piteous pleas to be burned alive and thus fulfil this duty to their husbands.

To propitiate the spirits, or Mana, and keep them favorable, certain acts were necessary. These range all the way from placing a pebble or a leaf on a pile in a sacred spot, as is often done in Africa, to sacrifices of sheep, oxen and men. When Suma, the father of Mtesa, King of Uganda, was ill, one hundred men were slaughtered every day for some time to appease the angered spirits. Mackay tells how in 1879 Mtesa captured two thousand of his unoffending subjects on the highways and slaughtered them all at a great ceremonial, or Kiwendo. A similar ceremony occurred in 1880, when the tomb of Suma was finished, and two thousand human beings were sacrificed.

There are few races where similar rites have not been celebrated at some time. The descriptions of the sacrifices of Mexico and of the Druids are familiar. Human sacrifices were made quite recently among the Khonds in India. The early African explorers give frequent accounts of such ceremonials. Nearly always it was a solemn act of ritual, done with stately pageantry,—one of the things that must be done to appease an angered god or spirit, and therefore a duty, as it was felt to be by Abraham, or Jephthah, in the Bible. Mariner tells how in Tonga at the illness of the little princess, a child was strangled to propitiate the spirit that caused the sickness. He describes how the executioner as he tightened the cord exclaimed: "Poor little innocent!" It was a duty. It had to be done. It was also the custom in Tonga to cut off the joint of a finger when a friend was ill as a propitiation to the spirit that possessed him, and Mariner states that in some islands there were few men who had not one or more joints of the little finger missing.

Every one is familiar with the ritual of sacrifice and propitiation followed by the Greeks and Romans, and the book of Leviticus gives elaborate directions for such rites. A common ceremony in all nations was to offer a proportion of the first fruits of the harvest to the deity or spirit. Sacrifices of propitiation to avert calamity, or to cleanse from contagion are also prescribed in Leviticus. The shedding of blood was ordinarily thought essential, and sheep and bulls were sacrificed by the Jews and Greeks and Romans, and cows and horses were immolated by the early Aryas. Even in honor of the philosopher Confucius, a bull, a pig, and a goat were sacrificed once a year. Although blood sacrifices were largely done away during the Buddhist reformation in India, one may still see a goat decapitated, and its blood placed in a saucer before the image of Kali, the great Mother Goddess. The method was the same in all tribes, although the idea behind it varied. In some cases the Mana was supposed to feed on blood. In others he was revengeful, and demanded blood when offended. In still other cases it was believed that nothing but blood was powerful enough to avert evil or cleanse from it.

The important point is that by means of this belief in Mana and Miasma there was created in every tribe a large class of acts, some of them of a most horrible and unnatural character, which were considered essential, and which were therefore duties. Men were impelled to perform them by this sense of dread,—a horror of vague impending calamity, or of the wrath of some mysterious spirit or god, which would fall upon them if the act were not performed. In many tribes it was the duty of the nearest of kin to avenge a murder, and a man felt himself under a curse until he had slain the murderer of his brother. This feeling of duty we find portrayed in Hamlet, as well as in many Greek dramas.

5. SHAPING CHARACTER BY THE TABOO

It was this belief in taboo and fetish, and in Mana and Miasma, that made possible the creation of tribal patterns. Each tribe received peculiar laws or taboos, which emanated from the tribal god or spirits, and special ceremonies or acts were required to secure and maintain the favor of the Mana. Thus was created a man of a definite pattern, who felt that certain things could not possibly be done, and that other acts must certainly be performed and whose behavior was thus clearly delimited. Each tribe had its own ideas of right and wrong, and its own duties. In one tribe stealing was wrong. In another, as in Fiji, a man had a right to take any object belonging to his relatives that he wanted, especially if it was hidden away.

Thus each tribe became a manufactory for a certain type of man and a standardized tribal pattern. If a man said he was a Fijian, or a Masai, it meant that he had a concept of himself as a man who was limited by definite barriers. There were certain things he felt he could not do, others that he could do, and others again that he must do. We readily note his difference in costume from the Hindu or Burmese but the ideas which these men hold of themselves show even more difference. There seems to be no limit to the absurdity and preposterous nature of the tribal pattern that could be produced under the violent stimulus of the belief in Miasma. For example, it was felt to be essential that the girls of New Ireland should be confined in a sort of conical coop for five years. There were three or four of these coops built inside a larger house. They were built on a bamboo platform three feet from the floor, were about seven feet high, and ten feet in circumference. When closed they were dark, and without any aperture for air or light. The girl could come out from this steaming, breathless enclosure for a few minutes each day, but no one could see her save some woman of her family. A girl in New Ireland felt this as essential a part of her life as clothing is to our girls and would no more think of going without it than a New York girl would think of going up Fifth Avenue without her clothes. Being the self that she is it would be impossible for her to act otherwise. This would indicate that any behavior no matter how ridiculous or uncomfortable can be made an essential element in the character of a man by means of these powerful emotional barriers.

This system can do a great deal more than produce a standardized pattern for the whole tribe. It could produce the most astounding changes in individuals. This was accomplished by the belief that mana can enter into certain men. In New Britain, if a man can create the impression that he is possessed of Mana, he is recognized as a chief, and has the power to place taboos. In Tonga a certain family was possessed of Mana, which was handed down, and its leading representative was known as the Tuitonga. He was above the laws of the tribe, and was neither circumcised nor tatooed as were all the others. The ceremonial used at his marriage or funeral, was totally different from the usual custom. In addressing him it was necessary to make use of a language of respect quite different from the ordinary speech. Large offerings were brought him of the first fruits. So sacred was his person that anything or any one whom he touched became taboo. The taboo could only be removed by touching the sole of his foot.

The King of the Shilluks in Africa is possessed of Mana from the spirits of his ancestors. He can make the rain or withhold it. He can protect his people from illness and disaster of all kinds. The chief of a tribe is not always possessed of Mana, but there is always some man who is a rainmaker or wizard or witch doctor in whom the Mana dwells. In the South Sea Islands such a man has the power to place taboos at will.

If cocoanuts are scarce and it is necessary to regulate the food supply, a sorcerer will chew betel nut and ginger root and expectorate in front of a pile of cocoanuts, and then tie a bunch of palm leaves over them. This infects them with such an evil contagion that loathsome sores would break out on any man who touched them. Every native therefore feels a horror of the nuts, and will not go near them. The chief can mark a cocoanut plantation with a sign of painted leaves and no one would dare approach it. I have seen a pile of cocoanuts over which a chief had placed on a pole the skull of a man whom he had killed and eaten, which thus became a taboo sign. The chief can make a certain path impassable by carving a mystic sign on a tree. Any native then feels that it is so infected that if he passed that way he would die. A native is convinced that if he breaks the taboo he will "swell up and die." In addition there are in the South Seas, and in Africa, certain secret societies, the members of which dress up in masks and are supposed to be spirits. In New Britain the Duk Duks dress to represent a huge man-eating bird, with an extinguisher-shaped covering of feathery leaves, and a hideous mask with grinning mouth and goggle eyes. Any one who recognized one of the maskers, or who implied that he was not a supernatural being, would have been killed in the old days. These societies can enforce any law or custom, or extort any fine. One of them, in his hideous costume, will come and sit in front of the hut of a man who has given offense, until he pays whatever fine is demanded. In West Africa, in the French Congo, there was a similar society called the Ukuku, which regulated and enforced all their laws and customs. The natives were in absolute terror of the supernatural powers of these maskers, and would obey them when no one else could influence them. The French government made use of them to end a feud between two tribes. The Ukuku held one of their wild dances and declared the feud at an end, and no one dared to go on with it.

The power of placing the taboo makes it possible to create selves of all sorts, within the tribe. A special taboo may be placed on any individual, which creates for him a special system of right and wrong. In Africa many men have what is termed an Orunda. This is a special taboo which applies only to the individual, and may prevent him from eating chicken, or from eating when on the water, or prohibit any one of a thousand things. The Nazarite devotée in the Old Testament was limited by a number of such special taboos. He might not cut his hair or eat certain foods. Such special taboos can be used in enforcing law. A law against stealing in Africa would not make a native feel that stealing is wrong. But if a chief or sorcerer tied a bunch of leaves with appropriate ceremonies on the door of a hut filled with treasure, no native would think it possible to touch anything in it. If a similar sign were placed on a girl she could live unscathed in the midst of the roughest men. A story had been written of a girl in the South Seas who had such a taboo placed on her so that no one could touch her. This developed in her a character pattern of quite an extraordinary type. She had such a horror of being touched that her avoidance of personal contact became instinctive, and she passed like a wraith through dense crowds. It is evident that this power of placing the taboo makes it possible to create selves of almost any type, limited in the most extraordinary manner by their emotions. (We shall return later to consider some of the types created in this way.)

It may seem that we have gone a long way from "here" and "now" to be considering the feelings of savages on the other side of the world, but we cannot understand ourselves unless we know how we are put together, and these savages show us in the clearest way possible what we once were and how we came to be what we are. Our prejudices and our conscience seem to us such positive or unalterable elements of character that the foregoing discussion is necessary to enable you to realize that your conscience acts as it does because a certain pattern has been imprinted upon you, and far from being absolute, it may be a very inferior type of conscience which you will wish to alter when the opportunity is afforded. Moreover, there are certain fundamental types, created in this way, which are just as evident in you and your friends as among the most distant savages.

CHAPTER IV

THE MANUFACTURE OF PATTERNS FOR SOULS

I. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF INFERIORITY, OR THE TAINTED SELF

You may have noticed among the people of your acquaintance two distinct types. In its crudest form the difference may be expressed by saying that the first class are always depressed by the consciousness that they have bad luck, or that fate is against them, or that God is punishing them or about to punish them for their misdeeds. The other class are just as confident in their good luck and feel sure that fate or God or some favoring power is behind them to inspire every attempt and bring every effort to success. The terms "inferiority complex" and "superiority complex," which have lately been inflicted upon us with such insistence, cover to some extent these two groups, when regarded from a different angle. Now those who belong to the first group are far from happy and those in the second group are liable to encounter even greater unhappiness. If you find yourself within the bounds of either, it will interest you to discover the causes that created them, the astounding effects that were produced on society by them, and the proper means of escaping from their thrall.

From the time when this Mana system was first put to work it has created two fundamental patterns of the self, which have borne a great part in history and which still have a great effect on the world. We will go a little further in defining them and say that one is a personality afflicted with the consciousness of infection, and the other a self conscious of enlarged powers. For the sake of brevity we will term them the Infected Self and the Enlarged Self. When the taboo is broken as it often is inadvertently, or when a man unwittingly touches an object infected with evil, he himself becomes infected. This means among primitive peoples that he feels some evil contagion has gripped him, which will result in sickness or death, or that some terrible catastrophe is imminent at every second, or that some hideous mysterious being is waiting to pounce upon him. His neighbors all regard him with horror, and avoid him lest they should be involved in evil. Sometimes they drive him out and he becomes an outcast. Sometimes he is burnt alive and destroyed. This all results in giving the infected man a horror of himself which is one of the most terrible emotions of which humanity is capable. The horror with which he regards the miasma is now turned against himself and to it is added a crushing sense of shame since he knows he is regarded by his fellow men with fear and loathing. This sense of guilt is sometimes termed remorse. It was this feeling which was depicted by the Greeks in their dramas under the form of the avenging Furies who pursued Orestes after he had killed his mother. As already noted in the South Sea Islands and in Africa a man usually dies as a result of breaking the taboo, and his death is largely the result of this feeling.

A man will do anything to escape from the consciousness of this evil contagion. If the transgressor preserved his former status in the tribe, it would not be possible to maintain the dread of breaking the taboo. Therefore in most tribes some means is provided to cleanse such a man from infection. This enables them to preserve both the man and the feeling of horror. In fact the ceremonials of cleansing added to this feeling. Water is supposed to contain Mana, and in India the River Ganges has the power to cleanse from contagion, so that one may see thousands of Hindus, rich and poor, Brahmin and Sudra, bathing together in its stream, washing off the dirt, brushing their teeth in it, throwing in the ashes of their dead and drinking the water at the same time.

Blood is even more cleansing, and with the Hebrews a man was required to take a lamb without blemish and placing his hand upon its head, to confess his offense, and ask that the lamb might bear the guilt in his place. The lamb was then slain and its blood sprinkled on the altar. When the whole tribe had offended, special sacrifices were appointed, and the evil contagion was placed on a goat which was driven off into the desert. The Athenians and Romans had similar ceremonials in which the evil contagion was placed on the head of one individual who was hunted from the city with stones. A book might be filled with accounts of the various devices adopted to cleanse an infected self. While the ceremonial of cleansing enabled a transgressor to resume his status in the tribe, it did not always free him from that inner consciousness of pollution and horror of himself which we have termed the infected self. This infected self was totally different from the man's normal self. A courageous man was transformed to a coward; a cheery, joyous person, to one afflicted with hopeless melancholy. The story of Saul, in the book of Samuel, tells of a man who breaks a taboo placed by the prophet on prisoners and cattle, and thus, in place of the heroic self, in the strength of which he has conquered his enemies, he acquires a tainted self, which makes him helpless in battle and well-nigh insane. From a generous, large-hearted, heroic man, he is changed into one who feels that the whole world is against him, who suspects even his favorite son of treachery, who tries to assassinate his best friend, and in place of leading his army against the enemy, remains helpless and inactive in a morose mood of utter self-distrust and despair.

The history of Greece and Rome is full of examples of a refusal of armies to fight when this consciousness of a taint was upon them. Again and again they declined battle when told by the diviners that some taint was upon them, and the omens were unfavorable. Often the offense was unknown to others, and the offender kept the consciousness of his tainted self concealed until some disaster overtook him.

In his account of Fetishism in Africa, R. H. Nassau tells of a man who accidentally shot his niece. Nothing was done about it until several of his children died in succession. Then it was agreed that he was pursued by an avenging spirit and must be cleansed. The witch doctors gathered special leaves and ferns and plantains, which were boiled with human excrement, and the blood of a goat was mixed in. The doctor sprinkled all the family with part of this mess and cried, "Let the displeasure of the spirit be removed." They then ate the rest of the pottage and joined in a ceremonial dance. This removed the sense of infection.

This infected self persists in the most surprising way. In his book on Fijian society, W. Deane tells of a Christian Fijian woman who was returning home in a sailboat with her son after the death of her husband. A terrible storm came up and the boy fell overboard. The captain of the boat jumped after him and held him up, until he was attacked by a shark, which killed the boy. The men were unable to turn the boat in the wind, and the captain fought the waves and the sharks for three hours, before they could rescue him. When he was finally saved and entered the boat, he cried, "Who is responsible for this?" The woman at once fell on her face on the deck, and confessed a sin of which no one had known. This was accepted by all as the cause of the disaster. She had concealed this consciousness of a tainted self for some months. The same tainted self is described in the book of Jonah. When the ship is in danger of sinking, the prophet confesses his sin and is thrown overboard to free the ship from taint. In Macbeth, Shakespeare describes such an infected self,—gloomy, morose, paralyzed in action and helpless, because conscious that it is in the grip of evil powers, and that Heaven fights against it. The same story is found again and again in history and literature. Henry Christophe, the negro king of

Haiti, who freed his people from slavery, ruled them wisely, and brought them prosperity and magnificence, succeeded until he put to death the priest who had been his guide. Then he thought he saw the spirit of the dead man come to haunt him. He fell stricken with paralysis, and was utterly unable to resist the rebellion that sprang up on every side,—a rebellion such as he had quelled a hundred times when he was his normal self.

2. THE ENLARGED SELF AND THE SENSE OF SUPERIORITY

In contrast with the consciousness pattern of the man who feels himself to be infected with miasma, is the pattern of the man who feels himself possessed of Mana. In Fiji and Tonga this possession came upon the priests at certain times. In Tonga the inspired man took the King's seat at the head of the circle and remained there until the spirit departed, when he took his seat again among the common people. During that period of inspiration he was not himself. It was recognized that the spirit or God was present in his body, and speaking through him. Calvert says that in Fiji when a man wished to invoke the priest he presented him with a whale's tooth. The priest anointed himself with scented oil, and then contemplated the tooth in silence. In a few minutes he began to tremble, and his limbs twitched. Then his whole frame was convulsed, and he shivered as if in ague. Sometimes he sobbed aloud. Then there was a shrill cry, "It is I," in a strange voice, which was recognized as the voice of the god. The priest's eyes stood out and rolled as if in a frenzy, his voice was unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his appearance like a madman. He usually had some message to deliver. When this was done the peculiar symptoms would gradually disappear. The man would look around with a vacant stare and cry, "I depart," and throw himself violently on the mat. Gradually the convulsive movements would grow less until he was himself again.

Mariner relates that the son of King Finow was frequently inspired by Toogoo Ahoo, a former king of Tonga. He told Mariner that at these times he felt a glow of heat all over, and was restless and uncomfortable. He did not feel his personal identity, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind. Mariner asked him how he knew it was Toogoo Ahoo that possessed him, and he answered, "There's a fool! How can I tell you *how* I know it? My mind told me it was Toogoo Ahoo!"

It is this consciousness of inspiration or of a self augmented by the presence of some beneficent spiritual power or Mana, that we have termed the enlarged self. Such a self feels conscious of supernatural powers. These inspired priests felt that they saw plainly the right course to pursue when it was hidden from others. Sometimes they saw events that transpired at a distance, and at times they could see into the future. Many tribes like those of Tonga are entirely guided by priests or chiefs who speak from this enlarged self. The same was apparently true of the tribes of Israel. Mention is made in the Bible of the schools of the prophets, and before going to battle kings such as Ahab or Jehoshaphat summoned such men to tell them how to act. Some are spoken of as false prophets. Of others it is said that God sent a lying spirit to speak through them. The type of self seems to have been the same. The prophet was conscious of being possessed by a spirit or by a larger self which gave him added powers. This type of consciousness is something of a puzzle to psychologists. We shall merely call attention to its peculiarities and its vast differences from the normal self.

In certain tribes the king, or wizard, or rainmaker, possessed Mana as a natural inheritance handed down in the family. Elsewhere Mana was conferred upon a priest or king by a ceremonial of consecration, in which he was first cleansed from all contact with miasma by rubbing with butter or sprinkling with water, and then rendered immune from evil contagion by such ceremonies as anointing the ears, and eyes, and hands, with some substance possessed of mana. This was usually followed by some rite symbolic of the descent of the Mana upon him. It was then necessary for him to keep himself pure from all contact with objects containing miasma, and constantly to perform rites of purification to preserve the Mana uncontaminated. This was the method of the priest.

Whether in the case of the priest or the prophet, possession of Mana had its effect on the consciousness of the man thus possessed. He felt that he was endowed with superior and unusual powers. Sometimes the power conferred was physical strength, or courage, as when the spirit of Amen Ra descended upon Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh, when he was surrounded by the enemy and alone, and he was given superhuman strength and power to cut his way out to victory. Again we are told that the spirit of the Lord descended mightily upon Samson, and he slew his hundreds with the jaw bone of an ass, or carried off the Gates of Gaza.

In other cases the Mana seems to be rather a type of good fortune,—a lucky star that assists its possessor in all crises. Attila apparently thought himself possessed of Mana of this type which he connected with an ancient sword which he had discovered. In most Mohammedan countries men are found possessed of "Barakah" as it is termed which they can confer upon others. Men who are sick or in trouble would travel many miles to touch the garments of the Grand Shereef of Morocco, or to receive his blessing. Among the Masai, it is supposed that Mana is best conveyed by spittle, from one who possesses this supernatural power.

Joseph Thomson who escaped death at their hands only by removing his false teeth, and thus convincing them that he was possessed of Mana, found himself besieged by endless processions of Masai beauties, each of whom held up her face and insisted that he should spit upon it. He did not dare refuse and was obliged to keep drinking water all day to supply the demand. The possession of a fetish gives a savage a little of the consciousness of this enlarged self, and it is surprising to see the change in demeanor and character induced by the possession of some talisman, in whose supernatural powers he has entire confidence. He becomes twice the man he was. In the case of the prophet the effect of the enlarged self is much greater. His intelligence is quickened, he sees with abnormal clearness, and apparently at times with telepathic vision. He feels himself in contact with Divine wisdom which he is able to communicate.

In other cases the Mana seems to add strange powers to the personality so that others listen to him open-mouthed and are ready to follow him like sheep to the slaughter. In general it may be said that the man possessed of Mana feels his self vastly enlarged. He is conscious of such an incoming tide of power that any obstacle, no matter how great, seems but a feather to be swept away by the breath of his nostrils. It seems to him that the barriers of Time and Space are down. He seems to see with clearness and certainty the whole course of events and the sequence of cause and effect. He hears celestial melodies and feels himself snatched up on high to sit with heavenly presences. We are, of course, discussing the concept a man has of himself at such a time, and not the actual transformation in his powers and vision, which may not be as great as he thinks it to be. When he has to face reality moments of doubt and reaction come. Mohammed might never have been able to maintain the exalted concept of himself, had it not been for the faith and loyalty of his wife Kadijah, who believed he was all he felt himself to be in his exalted moments, and supported this concept against the adverse testimony of facts, when he was defeated, and against the opinion of nearly all who knew him. He finally so convinced the world that Mana dwelt in him that

Khaled, "the sword of God," felt himself to be invincible so long as he wore the cap of Mohammed, and to-day a large part of the world recognizes his authority as supreme.

The case of Mohammed is, of course, unusual, but history is full of instances of the vast difference effected in a man, or in an army, when the concept of the infected self is replaced by that of the exalted self. The Greeks would not set sail for Troy until the presence of the Mana was secured by the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The Israelites were defeated by the Canaanites at Ai so long as the taint of the broken taboo was upon them. When Achan and all his family were stoned to death and the taint removed, they then conquered with the assurance that the Mana was with them. The Crusaders failed to take Antioch until the sacred lance that pierced the body of Christ was discovered, with that and the assurance of the Mana they triumphed over the Paynim. The Trojans could not fight without the Palladium or the later Romans without the Labarum. Joan of Arc brought to the defeated armies of France the consciousness that they were inspired by the Mana, and with her white standard, and her presence with them in white armor on her charger, they felt themselves invincible. It is absurd to contend that men with the consciousness of the enlarged self always *are* invincible. They *think* that they are and that is sometimes half the battle. The English understood this psychology, and to overcome the French, attempted to prove by the doctors of the church that Joan and the French army, instead of being inspired by the

Mana, were tainted with miasma, and burnt Joan as a witch. The conquests of the Mohammedan armies were due in large measure to the amazing success of their leaders in creating in their men this enlarged self, so that they all felt themselves to be inspired and upheld by Divine powers, which were irresistible.

It was partly because Lawrence understood this and sought to find for the Arabs a prophet rather than a clever military tactician that he had such surprising success in the late war. History and literature bear witness to the fact that the most astounding changes may be effected in men as they receive the concept of the exalted self or tainted self, or when they change from one concept to the other, and religion in ancient times, as well as to-day, was largely occupied with these selves and with their manipulation.

The aim of the Yogi in India is to acquire this enlarged self, this consciousness that he is one with the inner self of all things, so that the divine power in his can control all material things and dominate both animals and men. The saints attained this consciousness of unity with the Divine, and have described the ecstasy and sense of power which it brought to them.

From the above instances we may venture to assert that the Mana and Miasma idea has effected the pattern of behavior in the following ways. First, it limits the self to certain behavior and ideas, by means of the emotion of horror or by the action of conscience, as it is sometimes termed. Secondly, it enlarges the self in the realm of action by stimulating it to deeds which would not otherwise be performed. The sense of duty and religious devotion both transform the self in this fashion, and under their influence the field of a man's activity is often greatly broadened. Thirdly, it not only enlarges his activities but alters his attitude toward life, so that a cowardly man becomes courageous, and a weak man shows amazing endurance and steadfastness. Fourthly, it affects a man's happiness, altering his disposition from joy and exaltation to tragic despair, according as the Mana is thought to be present with a man or opposed to him. And fifthly, it tends to simplify the self and render a man sincere, since he believes that the Mana sees all his thoughts, and discerns and punishes hypocrisy and double dealing. It was as a result of this that it was possible to form the various tribal patterns described above and also the class patterns which we shall consider later.

3. THE EFFECT OF IMMORTALITY ON CHARACTER FORMATION

It is perhaps singular that faith in the potency of the miasma should have continued so long and have remained so powerful an agent, and that primitive tribes after thousands of years experience should still feel that to touch a dead body, or to eat a cocoanut marked by a taboo sign would bring certain disaster. Among the most intelligent people, however, is still found this strong feeling that certain objects or acts are miasmatic and bring immediate catastrophe in their wake. We find women who will not wear opals, and who regard a broken mirror with horror. Many regard the number 13 as miasmatic and will not sit thirteen at a table. There are hotels in New York that have no thirteenth floor and skip from the twelfth to the fourteenth. Others will not start a journey on Friday as that day is miasmatic. In Italy certain persons carry this evil contagion, and are said to have the evil eye. Many do not dare approach them without making the sign of "horns" with fore and little finger as a protection. The author was told of a prominent man in Naples who always kept a cow in his front yard whose horns protected him from a neighbor with the evil eye. When this neighbor called, he would retire behind the cow. There are many survivals also of the Mana and fetich idea, and there are men who will not undertake any important venture without a certain "mascot." A woman of dubious character told the author that she believed in the church and always took the numbers of the hymns to play policy.

In spite of such instances of belief in the miasma system, it was bound to lose ground as men increased in intelligence and found that punishment did not always follow the broken taboo, and that success was not invariable when they made use of the fetish, or obeyed the Mana. The book of Job is the first expression of this dawning distrust of the system. It is the story of a man who had broken no taboo and had kept in perfect relations with the Mana, and yet upon him fell the most terrible disasters, while others, who had broken the laws, prospered and were happy.

The point at which the system threatened to break down was in its application to antisocial conduct. The Hebrew prophets, for example, taught that the wrath of Yahveh fell not only on the man who partook of the meat of the sacrifice after touching a dead body, but also upon him who defrauded his neighbor, or bore false witness, or treated the poor with cruelty, and the most terrible curse on record was put upon all those who broke the Deuteronomic Code and may still be found appended to that book. It soon became evident, however, that many men prospered by fraud and deception and cruelty, and flourished as the green bay tree. If the system was to retain its efficacy some further modification was necessary.

This was achieved through belief in a future life, where rewards and punishments would be adjusted. This belief was not held by the Israelites and even in the time of Christ, the Sadducees or conservative party among the Jews rejected it. Certain tribes in Africa to-day where belief in the miasma is sufficient to secure obedience to law, hold no such belief in the future life. In parts of Africa and also in Tonga the belief was held that the chiefs survived while all others perished at death. The spirit of the chief remained to punish those who broke the laws, and in Tonga there was sufficient faith in the immediacy of this vengeance to make belief in future punishment unnecessary.

In Egypt, where a more critical intelligence developed, a very elaborate belief in the future state was evolved, and one which had great bearing on the formation of patterns of behavior. The deceased was brought before the throne of Osiris and the forty-two assessors, and there his soul was weighed against the feather of the truth by Anubis, while Thoth took the record. To escape the devouring monster, the man must then be able to say, according to the formula in the Book of the Dead: "I have come to thee and I have brought truth to thee. I have not made it the first consideration that excessive labor should be performed for me. I have not ill-treated the servants. I have not defrauded the oppressed one of his property. I have not caused pain. I have made no man suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep." This confession involved the formation of character patterns limited by very high moral standards, for it presents a very fine classification of the things that must not be done. The deceased must be conscious that he had not broken any of these taboos against injuring his fellow men.

On the side of duty the standard is equally high. He must say, "I live upon right and truth and I feed upon right and truth. I have given bread to the hungry man and water to the thirsty man and apparel to the naked man, and a boat to the shipwrecked mariner. I am clean of mouth and clean of hands. Therefore let it be said of me by those who shall behold me, 'Come in Peace.'" (Book of the Dead. Chap. 125, w. 7–11.) Terrible torture and disaster awaited the man who failed to pass this test, while the successful soul could say, "O blessed land I come to thee! My heart watcheth; my head is crowned with the white crown. I am led into celestial regions. O Divine Nome of wheat and barley, I have come to thee. . . . I have tied up my boat in the celestial lakes." (Book of the Dead. Chap. 110, 42–5.)

It is probable that such a high moral standard could not have been enforced by the usual miasma system. It would have been too difficult to support a belief that infringement of such a code brought sickness and calamity immediately in its train. It was entirely possible to create the belief that such conduct was punished in the future life, and thus to create a dread of doing such things, which though not as efficacious as the old miasmatic horror, was sufficient to create something of that feeling which we call conscience, and to form a self which possessed that which we term a moral nature.

In Persia the Zoroastrians also taught of a future life, and a last judgment, and promised most terrible punishments to those who broke the code of purity and honor. The Greeks at death came for judgment before Minos and Rhadamanthus, and were sentenced to penalties appropriate to their transgressions.

4. PATTERNS OF MORALITY AND THE HEBREWS

Our modern ideas are derived so largely from the Jews that it is important to follow the development of their thought. In the beginning they seem to have adopted the usual miasma system. In Leviticus a long list is given of quadrupeds, birds and fish, which were miasmatic, the eating of which brought such a curse upon a man that he was cut off from all fellowship. Blood was miasmatic, and all dead bodies. Under certain conditions houses and clothing were infected. For seven days of every month women were miasmatic and infected whatever they touched. There was a taboo on wearing any mixed goods, on trimming the hair or beard. The most notable taboo was on the seventh day when all work was forbidden, and it is stated that a man found picking up sticks on that day was promptly stoned to death, presumably for fear the infection resulting from his deed would spread and cause a plague. Such taboos are merely non-ethical, but there were others that were distinctly antisocial if not criminal. Such was the taboo on certain foreign nations. It is stated that association with Midianite women produced a plague, and that the guilty were "hung up before the Lord." The son of the High Priest took a spear and ran it through one man who had married a Midianite girl, to stay the plague. (Numbers 23.) When the Midianites were defeated and prisoners were taken, the Israelites were told to kill every male child and every married woman, in order to stay the infection impending from the presence of these strangers, and all their gold and silver had to be passed through the fire before it could be kept.

In order to purify an infected man means were adopted similar to those now in use in Africa. A red cow was burnt, and cedar wood, hyssop and a red cord, were mingled with the ashes. These ashes mixed with water were sprinkled upon the infected man, who was thus freed from miasma. (Numbers 31.) The sprinkling of blood on the altar was another means of purification. To cleanse a leper two birds were taken, one was killed, and cedar wood, hyssop and a red thread, were soaked in the blood. The leper was sprinkled with the blood, while the second bird was set free. When the Israelites called down the wrath of Yahveh by worshipping the golden calf, it was necessary to slaughter 3,000 men to stop the plague or disaster that would otherwise have resulted. There was apparently a taboo on taking a census and 70,000 men were slain by a plague, as the result of breaking this taboo in the time of David. I Sam. 14:24.

We have already described how the prophets from Moses down attempted to change the system and recondition the reactions of the people by associating the miasma primarily with antisocial acts,—theft, false witness, adultery and even with desire for a neighbor's property, and by teaching that Mana could not be obtained from material objects or sacrifices but only by righteous conduct. They foretold that if the people did not repent and accept this point of view they would be carried captive and destroyed as a nation. It is probable that the mass of the people clung to the old ideas, until the punishment foretold by the prophets came to pass and they were carried into captivity. This convinced them, and the remnant that returned sought to obey the law and the prophets with most meticulous exactness, and any departure from one jot or tittle of it was regarded with horror. The old miasmatic horror was supplemented by an idea, presented by the prophets, that the Kingdom of David was to be re-established under a king who was to be son of David and son of God, and who would punish all who had broken the law, and reward the faithful. It was this belief which enabled John the

Baptist to terrify the crowds into repentance, when he proclaimed that this kingdom was at hand.

In addition, some of the Jews, notably the Pharisees, had brought back from Babylonia, and possibly from the Persians, the idea of a future life in which terrible punishments would fall upon those who broke the law. They thus built up an emotional background which was almost as powerful as that of the old miasma, a real sense of horror at the thought of breaking the Sabbath or eating pigs' flesh, or defiling themselves by contact with foreigners, or disobeying the law in any way.

In India the usual miasmatic penalty was supplemented by the belief in Reincarnation, which assigned to each man a future punishment for his crimes. Later Buddhism introduced a hell as terrifying as that of Dante. Mohammedanism told of a Last Judgment with rewards for the faithful and terrible torments for the unbeliever. Thus all the great religions strengthened their moral barriers, as the belief in miasma waned, by the introduction of eschatology.

Christianity has always emphasized strongly the belief in a future life and in a judgment to come in which all transgressors should be burned with unquenchable fire. We shall consider later its characteristic behavior pattern. It is sufficient now to note that by supplementing the belief in miasma with that in future punishment, Christianity was able to maintain the old emotional barriers between the things that must not be done and the things which must be done. Whatever religion you hold, then, it would seem evident that one of its functions has been to create those barriers of right and wrong which form the basic outline in your portrait and in that of your co-religionists. If you transgress these barriers while you still sincerely believe in their validity you will probably fall into the group of those afflicted with the infected self. On the other hand it may be that some experience of the power of those great forces of the Spirit has enabled you to enter the second group of those who possess the enlarged self. The main point is that the method is still as efficacious to-day, with our advanced thought and higher religions, as it was among the savages, and that your self and mine are still being shaped by these barriers which give to them their fundamental outlines. Having thus outlined the means by which the emotional barriers were created which made possible the formation of behavior patterns, we may now take up some of the more notable patterns, both of the tribe and class, which have affected the development of the world and which still leave their mark upon the behavior of our friends. For as your portrait is a composite, it is more than probable that you will recognize in your own lineaments certain of these old types that have been impressed upon you even at this late day.

CHAPTER V

OUR ANCESTRAL PORTRAITS

I. THE WARRIOR

There is no pattern that has borne a greater part in world development than that of the warrior. You may be pacifistic enough in your ordinary behavior, but, nevertheless in some respects this old type has made its impress upon you, and the man is rare whose behavior and attitudes are not influenced in some way by those barriers which gave shape to the old time warrior and hero. Sparta supplies an illustration of the way in which this consciousness was developed. The boys were taken from their mothers at an early age and brought up in barracks by warriors with a discipline that was brutal in its sternness. Terrible punishment was administered for disobedience or any sign of cowardice. They were taught to regard with contempt any sign of luxury and to despise art, commerce, and wealth. A Spartan thus acquired an entirely different pattern of behavior from an Athenian. When a man said, "I am a Spartan," it meant that he had acquired a standardized tribal self of this stern, ruthless, laconic type.

It is strange that like methods should be in vogue all over the world among the warrior tribes. Among the Masai, the young men live in barracks and are trained to ruthless ferocity in similar fashion, save that the girls live with them in perfect freedom. After a number of campaigns a warrior marries, settles down, builds a house of his own, and lives in peace and benevolence.

The Fijians gave perhaps the best example of tribal self of this warrior type and it is interesting to note how they developed its characteristic attitudes. The people were naturally polite and possessed of human feelings, but everything possible was done to create a self that was absolutely unfeeling in its cruelty and vindictiveness. They began with the little children. Mr. Calvert describes visiting the home of a man who had been killed by his enemies. The child of the murdered man, a boy about four years old, was seated on the floor with blood streaming from his finger, from which a joint had been cut in memory of his father. He had been roused to the extremity of rage, and held in his hands the dress of the man who had killed his father, which he was slashing with a butcher's knife and covering with blood. The idea, of course, was to arouse in the child feelings which would lead him to avenge his father's death.

Every chief gained prestige by showing off his cruelty. Ra Undre Undre set up a stone behind his house for every man he ate, and at his death 198 were counted. Mr. Calvert tells of another chief who sent his wife to the field to dig taros to supply a meal for his guests. When she returned, he knocked her on the head with his club, cut up her body, roasted it and served it to his guests. He had no grudge against his wife but did this merely to acquire a reputation for ruthlessness. Another chief summoned a man who had given him offense, cut off the man's arm, and compelled him to sit and watch while his arm was roasted and eaten.

These are but a few instances from a whole volume of similar occurrences, all of which demonstrate how a standardized pattern of behavior, amazing in its bloodthirsty cruelty, was created in people who are naturally quite normal in their humanity. Such tribal selves become standardized and are upheld by the opinion of the group, which despises or banishes any man who departs from the standard. The boys start life as normal boys of any race, but each one is so trained that he accepts this standard self as the portrait of his own self. The young men are initiated into this tribal self at the age when they become warriors, and are obliged to do some act to demonstrate that they really are this self which they adopt. The Masai hold their initiation and circumcision every three years. The youthful warriors then sally forth on a raid and each is supposed to kill at least one man as a sign of his prowess. In their raid in 1924 they killed over two hundred of the neighboring villagers before the authorities could intervene, and they were just starting on their raid when the author was in Africa in 1927.

The same practice was observed by the North American Indians. I have seen the scars in the shoulders of a young Sioux where iron hooks had been driven in. They were attached by a rope to the top of a pole and the youth was swung around the pole in the air until the hooks tore out. Nearly every warrior tribe in Asia and Africa and America has some such initiation by which the young men prove that they have assumed the standard tribal self and are accepted as warriors. Every such tribe seeks to cultivate the enlarged self, or to augment the normal self of the individual, which is often cowardly and petty, by bringing some powerful emotion to bear, or to create, by some fetish or ceremonial, the consciousness of added powers. By means of the war dance a frightened group of men are worked up to a state of rage and fury, and thus acquire a new self which is bold enough to attack the enemy. The success of great conquerors such as Attila, or Genghis Khan, lay largely in their ability to create and maintain this warrior self in their hordes. History is largely occupied with describing men of this type, who were accounted heroes in proportion as they arrived at the required degree of strength and fearlessness. The Iliad and the Mahabharata hymn the praises of such heroes. In the savage type of warrior, cold-blooded ferocity was the chief characteristic, as has been noted in the case of the Fijian.

In more civilized races a further development took place. Falsehood and the telling of lies is usually the result of fear and it was felt by certain warrior groups such as the Persians, the Samurai, and the mediæval knights that to tell a lie or to break one's word was an indication of cowardice, and therefore impossible to the ideal warrior. To call a man a liar became an insult as great as to call him a coward. Courage and truth then became the two essentials of the heroic warrior self. His honor depended on maintaining them. If he showed cowardice or broke his word he lost his honor and became an outcast. To these qualities Christianity added a third,—that of gentleness, which involved courtesy to women, defense of the weak, and succor to the afflicted. Thus was produced the chivalry of the middle ages, and the warrior type known as the knight. The warrior self has usually shown a tendency to despise any other means of advancement than force of arms. The Samurai despised wealth and the use of money to attain their ends, and the true knight scorned to gain wealth by manual toil or by playing the merchant.

In considering the Samurai of Japan, the knight of Europe, or the Kshatriya of India, we are dealing with a class pattern, rather than a tribal pattern such as is found among the Fijians, the Iroquois, the Spartans, or the Bedouins. Such tribes or races have developed warrior patterns each of which has marked peculiarities, although they are all true to the general type. Each has its costumes and customs, its code, and its limits as set by the ideas of right and wrong held by the tribe. The Spartan would regard with horror the Fijian hero who eats the body of his enemy; the Iroquois would feel it his duty to stand by the relatives of his mother; the Roman would give his allegiance to his father against his mother's clan. The Spartan would regard as cowardly the forest-fighting Iroquois or the mounted skirmishers of the Sioux. All of them would find incomprehensible and weird the Tuareg warriors with their faces hidden by black veils, yet each would honor the same qualities of courage and loyalty even when found in men of totally different blood and customs. In an eloquent passage Robertson describes an attack by a British regiment on one of the Indian hill tribes, whose custom was to decorate their greatest heroes by tying a red thread around the thumb of one hand. The British made a desperate attack up the face of a precipice against impossible odds, and pushed on until the last man of their little group was slain. When their comrades came to reclaim the bodies, they found that around both thumbs of each hand was tied the red thread. Such recognition had their courage found from a barbarous enemy of an alien race.

2. THE TAMERS OF ANIMALS AND THE CULTIVATORS OF PLANTS

It is a strange fact that the type of culture and of character developed by primitive men seems to have depended on whether they were interested in animals or in plants and whether they chose the animal or vegetable kingdom as their ally. Those who tamed and cultivated animals became nomadic herdsmen, who usually developed the warrior self, as they had continually to defend their flocks and herds from raids by other similar tribes. Those who cultivated plants settled down and tilled the soil and planted grain, vines and fruit trees. Such tribes usually preferred peace, as war meant the destruction of their homes and the loss of their crops. When it was necessary to defend their lands, they often hired men of the warrior type, or else developed a special class of soldiers, instead of fighting themselves, as a tribe or nation. It comes about, therefore, that the warrior self is usually associated with those nomadic hordes whose life and wealth was in the animals they tamed and trained. They built no cities and cultivated no land, but attacked and plundered those who did. Among the tamers of the horse, we find the warrior tribes of the Persians, Huns, and Mongols. With the cow and ox were the Aryas of India, the Masai, the Watusi, and Zulus of Africa as well as the Israelites, nearly all of whom held sacred the cow or bull, and made use of milk in their ceremonials. With the camel we find the Bedouin, the Arabs, and many desert tribes. The tamers of the sheep and pig were less warlike and more akin to the agricultural tribes.

3. THE CONSCIOUSNESS CREATED IN WOMEN BY THE WARRIOR CULT

It is perhaps natural that, in warfare, tribes under the rule of women, or under the matriarchate, should not have been as successful as those under men, and we find that most of the warrior tribes early shifted from the matriarchal to the patriarchal system. Some, like the Iroquois, only went so far as to elect men as their chiefs, while they still kept the matriarchal descent. Others, like the Dinkas and most African tribes, broke up the matriarchal control by purchasing the child-bearing power of a woman from her family and clan, so that the children belonged to the father, and were controlled and trained by him and not by the mother. Among the Cossacks the bride was carried off by force from her own clan, so that she belonged to the husband by right of capture. Others, like the Greeks and Romans, arranged an elaborate ceremonial, as already mentioned, by which the bride renounced her family and clan and joined that of her husband. The whole effect of this change was to give woman an increasingly lower position, as a chattel or captured slave, or at best an adjunct of her husband's family who did not really belong, whose position in society, whose favor with the gods, and hope of future life depended entirely on her husband. She was regarded as a hindrance in war, and was subjected to taboos of various kinds, and was generally secluded from social life.

This was reflected in the consciousness of the woman, so that a very peculiar feminine self was ultimately built up. She was told that she had no mind and no soul, and, worse even than this in its effects, was the belief that she was infected with evil and communicated the miasma to men. Such a consciousness produces what we have termed the "tainted self," a self which is conscious of being under the power of evil forces. In the laws of Manu in India we read, "Hear now the duties of a woman. By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently even in her own house. Though destitute of virtue or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped by his wife."

A catechism referring to the position of women in India runs as follows: "What is the gate to hell? A woman. Who bewitches like wine? A woman. Who was the wisest of the wise? He who had not been deceived by woman, who may be compared to malignant fiends." ("Mosaics from India," by Denning.) In the old Sanskrit writings woman was described as "worse than the worst of animals, more poisonous than the poison of vipers." ("India's Problem," by J. P. Jones.) A widow was regarded as accursed of the gods, and was shunned with horror.

It is easy to understand what sort of tainted self would be built up by centuries of such teaching and belief. All nations did not take so dark a view of woman, but until recently in Mohammedan countries women were taught that they had no mind and no soul and no hope in the future save through a husband. In Greece during the Homeric period women seem to have had great liberty, but at the time of Pericles, women of position were excluded from all social life and shut up in their own houses, and it was only the prostitute who could enjoy the society of men. It will be found that wherever a certain element of the population has been reduced to subjection, it has almost always been done by creating in them this form of consciousness that we term the tainted self. So long as they have a normal self they will struggle for recognition and liberty, but when this consciousness of unworthiness or guilt has been created,—this sense that one is under the displeasure or condemnation of the gods, the victim then acquiesces in his fate, feeling that it is deserved and that any effort to better it would be both futile and wrong. It was in large measure by means of this tainted feminine self that women were kept in subjection for some centuries, in nations that developed on the line of the warrior tribe, or adopted its ideas.

If you are a woman, then, you will bear a deep-seated grudge to the old warrior pattern, not so much because the warrior enslaved woman, as because the system developed in her a portrait of herself from which she is only escaping to-day, after the bitterest struggle to build up in herself the consciousness of abilities and rights equal to those of a man. Perhaps in the reaction certain women see themselves a little too large in the modern world, but as we consider the many centuries in which woman was depressed by the very cramped and distorted portrait that was presented to her by the twisted mirror of the warrior, no man should resent her present tendency to self-enlargement.

3. THE DOMINANCE OF WOMAN

Fortunately there was another type of tribal life in which woman fared better and it is interesting to see what a different idea of herself woman acquired when a different system was brought to bear upon her.

The agricultural tribes seem to have retained longer the matriarchal form. The mother goddess, as the source of fertility, was worshipped as the chief divinity, and women, as her priestesses and representatives, received the highest honors, instead of being excluded from the most sacred shrines. The sexual functions, instead of being regarded as miasmatic, were sacred and intercourse with women instead of bringing danger of evil contagion, was often a part of the religious ceremonial. The position of women therefore seemed to be largely determined by the question of whether a tribe chose as its allies the animal or vegetable kingdom, and whether it devoted itself to the taming of wild animals or wild plants, to the cultivation of herds or of crops. Ordinarily women held a higher position when civilization centred in plant life than when it depended on animals. This, of course, is not a fixed rule, and there are many exceptions. Among the herdsmen of Ankole, for example, women are supposed to have a magic influence on cattle. When they are fat and beautiful, the cattle are so likewise. Consequently the women are not allowed to work, but are kept apart and fed on cream and butter until they can scarcely walk. All men cannot afford the expense of keeping a fattened wife to secure prosperity to their cattle, so groups of four or five men often clubbed together and maintained a joint wife in radiant corpulence. In most other tribes of herdsmen, however, women are distinctly inferior. They have no approach to the mysteries of religion, and are treated as chattels. The wives of the chief are usually slain at his death and buried with him. In early Babylonia, on the other hand, where the agricultural type was dominant, the tomb of a queen has recently been discovered in which were found the bodies of a number of soldiers, evidently put to death to serve as her guards in the other world. A tribe that put men to death at the tomb of a woman, evidently had quite a different point of view from those who put women to death at the tomb of a man.

The tribes that developed the agricultural self varied so greatly in characteristics that it is hard to find any features that were as universal as those that characterized the warrior self. In general there was the worship of fertility centring in the mother goddess and her lover and son, and usually involving rites in which blood was shed in fertilizing the soil. The early races of the Mediterranean basin seem to have been of this type—the Cretans, Canaanites, Babylonians, and races of Asia Minor, as well as the primitive races of India such as the Dravidians and Khonds. There are traditions of the rule of queens, and of religion administered chiefly by women. Zoroaster apparently made an attempt to change the Persians from a nomadic warrior tribe to an agricultural race, and as civilization progressed, more and more tribes settled down and devoted themselves to agriculture, and the warrior self, instead of remaining a tribal self, was preserved as a class self.

Egypt, which was predominantly agricultural, since it was for many centuries the granary of the world, gave a very high position to women. The wife was honored by her husband and was the mistress of his home. She often appears in sculpture side by side with him in attitudes expressive of affection and regard. The beautiful statue of Menkaura shows the queen standing beside him. Amenhotep, the third, is enthroned with Queen Ti at his side, and even Rameses second, who was inclined to depict his dependents under his knee, appears with Nefertari, in a statue at Luxor, in the affectionate attitude of a bridal pair. Women occupied a high position in religion, instead of being excluded from sacred rites, and some women, like the Princess Amenyrtais, held the rank of high priestess. The royal descent apparently was reckoned at first through the female line and it seems to have been necessary for the king's son to marry his sister in order to secure his inheritance. The kingship was peculiarly a man's prerogative and carried powers which no queen possessed. A woman, however, could actually occupy the office of king. To do this, she had like Hatshepsut to play the part of a man. Hatshepsut in her sculptures is dressed like a man and in her decrees speaks of herself as "he."

Similar instances occur in Africa to-day. In Tanganyika the chief or sultan must have a certain number of wives to maintain his dignity. I met a woman who was a sultan in her own right and who had eight wives, thus playing the part of a man like Hatshepsut. A woman could hardly ask for more in the way of privilege than the right to become a man and a king. This high position of woman in Egypt, and on the Mediterranean littoral, seems to have been undermined by the Greek and Roman system and finally overthrown by Christianity, which took over many of the old Jewish and pagan taboos against women and was perhaps also influenced by the asceticism of the Essenes. The idea of Paul that the flesh and all its desires were miasmatic brought with it the feeling that women were a source of evil, and that they must be avoided by those who hoped for holiness. This attitude found its reflection in the concept which Christian women came to have of themselves. It will be necessary to defer further consideration of the feminine self until we have attempted to describe the religious self in its various developments.

There were other tribal selves than those which belonged to the warrior and agricultural types. The Chinese produced a tribal self notably different from that of any of their neighbors, and to this day they regard all others as foreign devils. Many nations and races have preserved a marked tribal self, and though external marks of costume and ceremonial are abandoned, the training of ages has so limited the self that in the inward feeling concerning right or wrong, admirable or contemptible, beautiful or ugly, important or trivial, each stands quite by itself, and Irish and Italian, Jew and Anglo-Saxon regard one another with mutual contempt. This, of course, is even more marked in the case of the Chinese, Indian, and Negro.

These marked types of the tribal self, have little to do with your personal portrait. But there are patterns of the tribal sort which may have crept into your picture or that of your friends. When you manifest a type of conscience or a culture, or social attitudes peculiar to a certain district some social arbiter is sure to remark "Isn't he provincial?" Whereupon you probably seek shamefacedly to rid yourself of your tribal characteristics, although you are aware that divested of them, in your own section the leading colonial dames might present you with an exceedingly cold shoulder. To-day the tribal self is something which, however essential in the home town, the man of the world seeks to erase from his portrait.

CHAPTER VI

INTANGIBLE BARRIERS THAT DIVIDE MANKIND

I. MAGICIANS WHO IMPRISON THE SOUL

Even in America we sometimes hear of "the classes and the masses." Although we are not divided up by tribal patterns of markedly different character, certain social classes tend to develop attitudes and prejudices and even a conscience peculiar to themselves. This is more true in the old world than in America. In fact some consider that the most important thing that America has done for its citizens is to free them from the bondage of these class patterns. If you are to make any attempt to create a personality or modify a character you may gain courage for the effort by taking note of the astounding results produced on human personality in connection with the creation of these class selves. Taking people who were originally of the same social group, a system was brought to bear upon them which produced human beings so totally different from one another in every attitude and emotion and in every concept of themselves that they were hardly the same flesh and blood. We shall study some of these types and the methods by which they were produced with the assurance that after seeing what has been done with others none of us will doubt that it is possible for himself to be changed into almost any conceivable likeness. The chief agents, in this process of the formation of class patterns, were the priests.

In primitive society each tribe developed a self of its own. This was modified in the case of women, but otherwise the whole tribe bore its stamp and accepted its concept. We have mentioned that each tribe set apart one or more men to control the forces of evil with which they were surrounded, and to develop mana to such an extent that they could cleanse those who were infected by contact with miasma. In the beginning this was done by the king or wizard, but as the tribe increased in size a larger number of men was required for this purpose and a priestly class was developed. Such a group was found in every tribe as it advanced in civilization and became a nation. Among the Greeks and Romans the head of each house was the priest of his own family, but in addition there grew up about each temple a group of men who were occupied in its services and ritual, and who interpreted the will of the god.

Among the Egyptians, the body of priests was very powerful and embraced the ablest and most learned men of the community. They wore white robes covered by the leopard skin. They preserved a spotless cleanliness, and shaved not only the head but the whole body. They were obliged to keep from all contact with dead bodies and miasmatic objects of all kinds, and were occupied continually with the services of the gods. This involved prayer, the singing of hymns, and the offering of sacrifices, and the performance of elaborate rites by which the favor of the gods was obtained and mana was secured for the nation.

The self this developed was a species of the enlarged self which already has been described. They felt themselves set apart from the common herd and possessed of mana which they could confer on others by contact or by some formula. They were, however, in continual danger of losing their holiness and the power associated with it, by contact with some miasmatic person or object. In this respect the priest differed from the prophet. The priest felt that he was free from miasma, the prophet that he possessed mana. The mana dwelt in him as a loftier type of consciousness. The superiority of the priest was based on the consciousness that he was aseptic and could not be attacked by miasma so long as he continued the necessary precaution. The prophet had rather the feeling of immunity than that of asepsis. There was that in him that was stronger than the evil contagion.

The welfare of the people depended on the class of priests that kept open for them the access to mana and cleansed them from miasma. Their power extended even further, for they could place certain individuals, or certain classes, under the curse of the mana, and could subject them to the powers of evil. This gave them an extraordinary power over society. They could cut off certain groups from the rest by placing them under a ban. If this ban was made permanent, they then created a separate class, divided from the rest by an emotional barrier similar to the taboo. The people of India are all divided up in this fashion by invisible barriers more potent than walls of steel. Each little group is confined in a narrow field, where only one occupation is possible, by walls of miasmatic horror, which prevent them from touching any one outside, or attempting any other work than that to which they were born. No matter how distasteful and degrading his work, or how disagreeable his companions, the Hindu cannot escape from this narrow prison, which encloses him on all sides as long as life lasts, which prevents all progress, and shuts off all hope. There is nothing that we consider more unstable and transient than emotion, but the walls which secluded the native of India in his narrow and inexorable prison are of nothing else.

Through the age-long action of the mana and miasma system, under direction of the Brahmin, these barriers have been created, so that each member of a given caste feels genuine horror at contact with any outsider, and knows that those of other castes have a similar horror of touching him. The Brahmins alone possessed mana and were free from infection. Upon all other groups was placed a ban of varying severity, so that all were infected in different degree from the Kshatriya down to the lowest pariah. The degree of infection was measured by the distance which the Brahmin had to preserve between himself and each of them, and by the amount of purification necessary if he should chance to touch one of them. The barrier worked both ways. With those in the upper scale it was horror of infection with miasma that kept them from touching those beneath. With the lower castes it was dread of defiling and offending the mana that kept them at a distance. Among the Israelites any ordinary mortal who touched the ark was smitten with pestilence or fire, and dread of some such disaster kept the lower castes of India from contact with the Brahmin.

The caste system is an illustration of the amazing way in which a man's self my be limited by means of the mana and miasma system. It is hard for us to imagine how utterly it would change life if one of us were suddenly to receive such a concept of himself. He would find himself obsessed with a horror of touching any of those about him, save a small group engaged in the same work. In the presence of certain other groups, he would have such a sense of defilement that he would no more venture to touch them than a man immersed in sewage would dare to clasp a princess. He would feel such unworthiness that he would think it natural that these superiors should shrink from him, and would be grateful if they allowed him to clean their shoes, and rewarded him with a curse. He would feel that he was made for one special type of work, and that he could never do anything else without being accursed, and that he must worship his superiors as representatives of God.

The laws of Manu, Section 99, say, "When the Brahmin is born he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures to guard the treasures of Dharma. Thus whatever exists in the universe is all the property of the Brahmin." In the first chapter we quoted a man who was regarded as insane because he thought he had rights to the possession of the whole earth. The Brahmin had so manipulated the mana and miasma system that he claimed the same rights and no one ventured to question his sanity. The laws of Manu, Section 403, say further: "A Sudra, whether bought or not bought, the Brahmin may compel to practice servitude, for that Sudra was created by the self existent merely for the services of the Brahmin." Section 417: "A Brahmin may take possession of the goods of a Sudra with perfect peace of mind for since nothing at all belongs to this Sudra as his own, he is one whose property may be taken by his master." Not long ago no low caste man was allowed to enter the city of Poona after four P. M. because the shadows are then so long that it was difficult to prevent the unclean shadow of a Sudra from falling on a Brahmin and defiling him. Here, then, a self was produced which was conscious of such a taint that it felt that even its shadow would defile the holy. After such examples one recognizes that there are no limits to the power of the mana and miasma system to create new types of class selves.

In the Western world class patterns were created in similar fashion, though the barriers were not as great. A division was maintained between the serf and peasant, and tradesman and soldier, which corresponded in some degree to the castes. These divisions were brought about apparently in the same way in many different nations. The priestly caste always stood at the top free from miasma and with access to mana. The other classes were all infected with miasma in varying degree, and were thus limited to special selves by barriers which they could not cross. In Egypt the paraschite who prepared bodies for burial was so unclean that he was stoned from the house after performing his office and it was moreover impossible for him to think of escaping his fate, or of taking up any other employment.

A class which existed in nearly all nations was that of the slaves. The self of the slave did not differ greatly from that of the Sudra, although the concept varied somewhat in different countries. In some cases the slaves were captives in war. Their lives were forfeit and their captor had the right to keep them alive to do him services, or to put him to death at will. They felt they had no rights to property or liberty, and recognized their duty to perform menial services without reward, and were grateful if they were not flogged to death for their shortcomings. Other slaves belonged to an inferior race, and were regarded as unclean and hardly human. The Fulahs are a white race of the Sahara, who have black slaves. The author was told by a French officer who had married a Fulah girl that his wife kept all but one eye veiled in the presence of the French officers, but went unveiled before his black soldiers. She explained this by saying, "They are not men. They are beasts." Even in America black slaves were not regarded as human beings with equal rights, and it is only since the Civil War that they have felt themselves to be on a par with the whites.

2. SHAPING THE SOUL OF A KING

Over against such slave selves was the behavior pattern of the king and the noble. This, like that of the priest, involved a form of consciousness that we term the enlarged self. The ancient king was brought up to feel that he was the son of god with the right to absolute obedience and even to worship from his people. Their land and all their possessions belonged to him and he had the right to take from them what he wanted. He felt that his comfort and pleasure were of supreme importance, and that it was right to exact any amount of labor and suffering from others to secure it. Strange to say, the people had the same feeling, and rejoiced to toil and suffer and give their lives for the king's sake.

It is impossible to judge of the actions of a king without recognizing that he had this exalted conception of himself, and honestly felt that it was his subjects' greatest privilege to be slain for him in battle or, in more primitive times, that it was the chief privilege of his wives and favorite servants to be slaughtered at his death and buried with him. We are all familiar with the story of the Stuart Princes, and the matter-of-course manner in which these worthless individuals demanded and expected the sacrifice of the life and property and happiness of their adherents. Henry the Eighth promptly decapitated any one who ventured to disagree with him. Even in our day the Czars of Russia felt it their duty to keep their subjects in this attitude of submissive adoration. Nicholas was a kindly and conscientious man, but in 1905 when a crowd of 20,000 petitioners approached the palace, he ordered his Cossacks to cut them down and his soldiers to massacre them wholesale, merely because they asked him to better their condition.

The pattern of the noble or aristocrat was derived from that of the king, for the nobles were either members of the royal family, or else sub-chiefs, or sub-kings. They were therefore possessed of a greater share of mana than the common people and felt that they were superior beings authorized to control the masses.

This aristocratic self with its peculiar rights was recognized in law until recent times. By a law of Edward Sixth of England, peers had the privilege of committing manslaughter, and a peer who killed a man without premeditation was not prosecuted. The persons of peers were inviolable. They could not be held in durance save in the tower of London. A peer was exempt from presenting himself before the sheriff and he could have wine custom free. There were a host of other privileges granted even in recent times, simply on the basis of this superior self. A peer felt himself to be different from the commoner, and the commoner felt that this was true.

As stated, this superiority was probably based at first on the possession of mana. This mana seems gradually to have been transformed into something which was termed honor. As long as he preserved his honor the noble of the middle ages kept his class consciousness and his sense of superiority. Just as the priest lost his mana and his consciousness of purity when tainted by miasma, so the noble lost his sense of dignity and worth when his honor was lost. Just as the priest could acquire a tainted self by touching dead bodies or breaking any of a thousand taboos, so the honor of a knight could be tainted if he broke his word or played the coward. In fact, if any one called him a coward or a liar and the insult was not wiped out in blood, he felt that he had a tainted self. We have already noted that this was a characteristic of the warrior self and there seems to have been a fusing of the warrior self with that of the noble in many nations.

Another taboo, the breaking of which brought taint upon the honor of the noble, was against manual labor of any kind, and against any work done for money. The knight could fight for his friend, but he could not work for him. He could bring plunder to his wife, but he could not earn money for her. He could win money by betting and gambling, but not by selling goods as a merchant. He could rescue the afflicted by battling with their enemies, but not by working for them or rendering any personal service which might be thought menial. He would lose his honor by performing menial service for an equal or an inferior, though he might gain honor by such service to a superior, as did the princes of the blood, when they played valet to the king of France and put on his shirt. To become a merchant or trader the noble considered a disgrace, and Lord Byron felt that he would lose his honor if he received money for his poems.

The noble might toil with all his strength at war or sport, but any constructive labor was miasmatic, and even to carry a bundle in the street would put a taint upon him. His honor was increased in proportion to the number of persons who performed menial services for him. The self of the noble and knight, as exemplified by such heroes as King Arthur and the Chevalier Bayard, endured many centuries, and left its mark upon the world. In the seventeenth century it began to disintegrate. Cervantes, in his Don Quixote, gave a tragi-comic picture of its incongruities and absurdities when face to face with modern conditions. Shakespeare ridiculed it more openly in depicting Falstaff as a bombastic claimant to this knightly self.

3. PRINCES AND SUPERMEN

Such a consciousness pattern as that of the king or aristocrat is not made in a day. In fact it seems incredible that it could ever have been regarded otherwise than as a form of madness for a man to step forth and expect his fellow men to sacrifice their lives for his comfort, and beggar themselves in his service, and obey his every whim as the voice of God; it seems too preposterous to be possible. It is evident that a long preparation is necessary. A tainted self or a consciousness of inferiority must have been created in those about him, and also a belief that the claimant was truly possessed of mana. This is one of the miracles accomplished by the mana and miasma system, and we can look back on thousands of men who held such a concept of themselves and successfully maintained it. The old hero—whether king or noble—held to this exalted idea of himself, and felt that he was superior to all those about him. They owed him obedience and service, and their prosperity and favor with the gods depended on their abject submission to his will.

As men advanced in the knowledge of science they began to doubt the old miasmatic ideas, and were no longer convinced that pestilence and disaster would follow if they broke the laws and disobeyed the king. The king and nobles themselves began to doubt if they truly had divine authority and if the laws they had made and taboos they had placed were inviolable. A traveller to New Guinea states that in the district he visited women and children were in constant terror of countless evil spirits. When a youth was initiated and became a warrior he was taught that these numberless spirits were merely to frighten the women and that he had only to fear a group of powerful spirits that controlled the forces of nature. When the warrior became a chief he was told that these great spirits in turn were only to keep the warriors in subjection to the taboos, and that there was really only one spirit that he need fear, Tokaia, the spirit of the volcano. It was stated that the head chief of all did not even believe in Tokaia. Whether this is true in New Guinea or not, in many other nations the people were kept obedient in this fashion by religious beliefs which their rulers had outgrown.

As a result we find a new type of self which was best formulated by Machiavelli. The Prince, according to him, maintains among the people the belief in miasma, and the old horror of breaking the law in order to enable him to carry out his purposes, and to force the multitude to do his will. He himself has no horror at breaking any law, and holds that the laws were made to give him supremacy, and to enable one man of intelligence to force the thousands of yokels to obey him. He does not hesitate to steal or lie or kill, for he knows the miasma cannot harm him. He laughs in his sleeve at the crowd who are rendered defenseless by their respect for the law and their sense of honor. He has no belief in mana save as a bugaboo by which he can frighten the public into obedience. Intelligence is his only god, and he believes in using it to subjugate the world. He thinks it is better for the stupid crowd to be subject to him and carry out his designs than to continue their brutish squabbles with one another. Cæsar Borgia was the exemplification of this Machiavellian kingly or regal self. If he had come out openly and ridiculed the whole mana system one would have more respect for him. To pretend to worship a god whom at heart he mocks, and to simulate fear of a devil whom he secretly ridicules, seems the acme of insincerity. The Prince claims to hold from God a right to the obedience and worship of his subjects, and uses this right to cheat and deceive those with weaker brains.

The Nietzschean self is a more sincere development of the Machiavellian type. It does not pretend to possess any mana other than the superior strength and intelligence of the Blond Beast, and in virtue of this superiority considers it is above all law, and possessed of the right to dominate the earth. The king claimed his rights because he was conscious of the power of God behind him. The Nietzschean makes the same claim because he feels he is a superman. Frederick the Great is considered by Hilaire Belloc to have been a king of this type. He did not feel himself bound by the old system of sacred sanctions and honorable agreements, but used it to deceive others and dominate them and disregarded it whenever he could gain an advantage.

4. SURVIVALS OF THE REGAL MIND

In modern life we find still the regal self which feels that it possesses the right to dominate others, but it is usually of the Machiavellian or Nietzschean type. In the anti-religious paper published by the Russian Communists, is a cartoon of the Capitalist of the Machiavellian type. He is erecting a figure of God in the shadow of which he proceeds to plunder the people, while they are kept submissive and afraid. Unquestionably there have been capitalists of this type who have supported a religion in which they did not believe, because it profited their business and kept people submissive to their rules under conditions which would otherwise have aroused rebellion. In times past we have also seen capitalists of the Nietzschean type, who, as supermen, felt as sincerely as any king the right to say "the Public be damned." And even to-day those of us who have succeeded in penetrating the many barriers that screen his inner sanction, may see, enthroned behind his mahogany desk, in royal luxury, many a man whose attitude and words, though couched in more urbane phraseology than those just quoted, might lead us to surmise that he felt himself possessed of kingly prerogatives. In a monarchy only a few can play the king and they are trained for the part. It is a defect of democracy that the acquisition of wealth should so often stimulate this consciousness of the regal self in those who seem hopelessly inadequate.

In addition to the kings of Abyssinia and Siam and the Emir of Afghanistan, there remain still a few who possess the regal self of the old type, and who dominate because they are kings by divine right. In spite of the liberal government some of this feeling lingers about the Mikado. The Pope, the Grand Lama, the Sherif of Morocco, and many other religious dignitaries are conscious that they rule in virtue of the divine power behind them. Many religious leaders all over the world from Dowie to Billy Sunday have felt something of the same self and its authority to denounce all who differ from them. It will be necessary later to consider this aspect of the religious self.

A more familiar development of the regal self is that of the ambassador or representative. He possesses the enlarged self not because he is conscious of mana, but because of that which he represents. The ambassador felt himself of great importance because he represented the king. The Representatives and Senators and the President himself, are conscious of a superior self because they represent the people. The judges and officers of the Court, down to the policeman on the street, are conscious of the power and dignity that is theirs as representatives of the law. In fact most men to-day who are possessed of the enlarged self derive it not so much from what they are, as from what they represent. When the Emperor of Constantinople sat on his golden throne in the porphyry palace, there strode into his presence a strange figure with the long black locks and slanting eyes of the Hun, who cried defiantly "Attila, my lord and thy lord, commands thee to prepare a palace to receive him." It was not this wild barbarian that made the scented courtiers tremble in their gorgeous robes, it was the power of the vast horde and the merciless captain whose representative he was. He claimed nothing for himself. It was Attila, "my lord and thy lord," of whose power he was conscious. Such an enlarged self, that comes from the consciousness of that which one represents commands a greater respect than the claims of any Nietzschean superman. We do not feel that any individual is great enough to claim the prerogatives of the regal self in his own right. The ancient king was honored because he represented the god. Even Napoleon felt it necessary that the pope should bless his coronation. A man whose consciousness of the regal self is based on the idea of his own greatness inspires contempt and ridicule. The man who thinks nothing of himself, but is conscious of the supreme greatness of that which he represents, often makes a kingly impression and commands obedience. Just as soon as he begins to think that it is himself who is great, he becomes ridiculous.

This pattern of the old regal self is still being impressed upon the consciousness of our friends and acquaintances and forms an element in their portraits which is often singularly distasteful to those who are expected to wait upon them. It is surprising how slight a suggestion is necessary to insert its outlines into the portrait your children are forming of themselves. They are only too ready to consider themselves princesses or noblemen and to play the part. This type of consciousness was built up to serve an imperative need in social organization but it seems to have outlived its usefulness. History, art and romance are so full of it, however, that it still lives on. It is one of the patterns which it pays to eliminate from one's portrait, and when its outlines appear in child, a wise guide will do his best to erase them.

5. PRESTIGE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIVINITY

Formerly an enlarged self such as that of the king was due to the possession of mana. To-day the old-time mana is replaced by prestige. This is something difficult to define, but easy to recognize. Any man who acquires it begins immediately to develop the regal self. Prestige may come from some heroic act or from some great achievement in literature or in art, and thus be well-deserved. It may come from knocking a home run, or making a touchdown, or from a successful appearance in the cinema. It may be derived from the possession of wealth, or from aristocratic connections. It may be due to some accident which places one suddenly in prominence, and it is frequently due merely to clever advertising. The less the merit that lies behind it, the greater seems to be the concept of the regal self which results. When it is said that a man's head is turned, the phrase signifies that, stimulated by prestige, the man has exhibited a regal self of undue proportions. There should be a careful adjustment between prestige and the claims of the regal self. Prestige represents the credit a man has with the public. His regal claims will be recognized up to the limit of his prestige. If he goes beyond he meets with ridicule and disgrace. The ancient king had unlimited prestige because God was behind him and he could make any claims on the public. The prestige of the modern man has little to do with his merit or real greatness. It may be due to the office he occupies, or to his friends, or to the press. From whatever source it comes, it is good for just so much regal prerogative. A clever man will cherish the prestige he has acquired and do nothing to dim or tarnish it. When a man has acquired greater prestige than his abilities warrant, then in order to preserve it he finds it advisable to keep himself at a distance, and also surrounds himself with ceremonial, so that men have no opportunity to observe the emptiness of his brain, or the weakness of his personality. This plan has even been adopted by certain kings, who kept themselves so far removed from the common herd that none could see if they lacked the mana they were supposed to possess. (Men who fear that their abilities do not equal their reputation usually keep at a distance from the public, and surround themselves with something of the kingly ceremonial.) We find then that the regal self still exists in the modern democratic world, but usually in the Nietzschean or Machiavellian form. Where its claims are recognized it is because the claimant is possessed, not of mana, but of prestige which seems to be the modern substitute.

6. MODERN SOCIAL BARRIERS

We have found that in past times class selves of different grades were formed by the mana and miasma system, through its power to create a consciousness of inferiority or superiority in certain groups, and thus to separate them from one another. Most of the class selves which exist to-day have no such fixed barriers. They are created by differences in training or occupation, and although the selves thus produced are quite different from one another, it is possible to pass from one to the other, and there is no such immutable wall between as is found in the Hindu caste system. The self of the clergyman is vastly different from that of the pugilist, and the concept the stockbroker holds of himself is quite different from that of the day laborer, but the latter knows that, under certain circumstances, and with the required training, he might acquire a self similar to that of the former. This possibility of change introduces an element of freedom into the self-consciousness, and it is here that the selves of the new world differ most notably from those of the older civilizations. The self of each man is more an individual matter dependent on his choice, on the training he undertakes, and the companions he selects, and is not something that is stamped on him irrevocably at birth. Although his occupation is the same, the street sweeper in America has not the cringing sense of inferiority that he has in India where the miasma system has produced a consciousness of the tainted self. The carpenter has a different code and different standards from the soldier or the farmer, and feels himself to be quite a different sort of person from the musician or the cinema actor. Each occupation tends to create a peculiar self with definite idiosyncrasies, and, to that extent, we still find class selves in the modern democracies.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

I. THE MEANING OF "GOOD" AND "BAD"

When you wish to acquire a more satisfactory self or a more potent personality your first impulse would naturally be to look to religion for assistance. In a city like Los Angeles where there are thousands of people retired from active life and with leisure to devote themselves to the culture of their own personality, it is amazing how many different kinds of religion, both ancient and ultra modern,—from Bahaists, Vedantists and Theosophists, down to the latest forms of New Thought,—offer to assist one in attaining the ideal life and character. It is reasonable to turn to religion in such a case for, as we have seen, no agency has been so powerful in the formation of different patterns of consciousness.

When a man adopts a new religion it is likely to have a more noticeable effect on his behavior and consciousness than when he changes his occupation. To-day any man has a choice between a variety of religions. In most tribes and nations of the past there was only one religion which formed behavior patterns for all the different classes in the social order, as in India to-day. Then one religion divided men by different class patterns. To-day men of one class are divided by different religious patterns. Wherever there is any religion there is a certain classification which is applied to men on the basis of their behavior. Common folk have always termed it a moral classification and although modern psychologists have lost faith in its significance, it is of interest to us as indicating a state of consciousness in both the classifier and the classified. It divides men into the "good" and the "bad." Although men have been thus divided all over the world from the reign of Lugalzaggisi down to that of President Hoover, there is an alarming diversity of views as to significance and application of these terms. The man who is called "good" in Arizona, may be looked upon as "bad" in Boston. And yet Society is prone to treat all "bad" men in the same fashion and to regard all "good" men with the same approval. This is likely to cause great misunderstanding and no little mischief. One might as well classify the lion and the lamb together as to put the different types of good men in one class, and to treat all "bad" men in the same fashion is as unintelligent as to treat a wolf hound like a lap dog because both are dogs.

Ordinarily we find that a "good" man is one who conforms to the behavior pattern assigned to him as member of a certain group. In the ancient world this pattern was enforced by the taboos of the tribal religion. A "bad" man was one who failed in some way to conform to this behavior pattern. Although we have been taught to regard all good men as good, and all bad men as bad, as just indicated, the matter is by no means so simple. There are men who are bad because they are good and others who are good merely because they are weak, or bad. There is a negative type of good man, as well as a positive type. The first is good because he has broken no taboo and has infringed in no way upon the behavior pattern imposed upon him. He may be good merely because he is afraid to be bad. The second is "good" because he is possessed of certain qualities that benefit the tribe or because there is in him a real devotion to the things the tribe admires. The priest or prophet or medicine man is regarded as good because he is possessed of mana. Such men are good because of their strength. Their goodness is positive. In addition we find some persons who were a puzzle to the ancient world and the subject of many of their dramas, because men were intrigued by the problem they presented. These were men who had broken a taboo or infringed upon the required behavior pattern in order to benefit the tribe or perform a duty. In other words, they are bad because they are good. Prometheus, for example, brought down on himself the wrath of the gods by winning for mankind an incalculable blessing. Urged by sympathy with his fellow men he broke through that barrier of horror which shuts off the things which must not be done. He was conscious of having done a right deed and of having thereby acquired a tainted self. Prometheus represents the man who is in advance of his age and who therefore is called bad and persecuted by the good men of his time. He may either be overwhelmed with remorse for his good deeds or he may be strong enough to maintain a consciousness of virtue in spite of his transgressions. Socrates and the philosophers were such men. Jesus was condemned to death for breaking the Sabbath to heal the sick.

When we consider the men called "bad" we find a similar situation. In the first place we find the men who are "bad" because they have transgressed some taboo or canon of behavior, either unknowingly or because they were carried away by some impulse. They are usually afflicted with the tainted self; or consciousness of guilt. Most of them are bad because they are weak or ignorant.

In the second place there is the man who deliberately breaks the taboo or opposes the gods of the tribe. He may even attempt to ally himself with the forces of evil, —with the devil or with evil spirits. Such were the witches and enchanters who practised black magic. The black witch possesses a type of the enlarged self and is conscious of superior powers that come from an evil source. Enchanters and witches of this kind were common in civilized countries until recent times and were typified by such characters as Faust and Cagliostro. They were regarded as an imminent danger by the early colonists of New England.

There are also men who defy society and law but have no faith in evil spirits or in the power of the devil. Such a man stands alone in the strength of his own intelligence and seeks to work out his selfish will at the expense of his fellow men. The unscrupulous criminal and bandit and outcast belong to this class. The Nietzschean superman may be reckoned among them. Whether they are independent or regard themselves as inspired by the evil one, we may say that such men are bad because they are strong. Their badness is positive in character.

Another group of men who are usually called bad are those who have been trained under the system of another tribe to a different standard of right and wrong. To the Jew the Gentiles were "bad men." To us the Fijian cannibal with his standards of ferocity and cruelty would certainly be considered "bad." These men in their own eyes and in those of their tribe are good. We may then say that they are good because they are bad. They may be weak or strong men but the better and stronger they are, the worse they appear to us. We shall have to return to this classification when we come to consider the transformation of the self. For the present it is sufficient to note that among "bad" men there is one class who are bad because they are weak, one who are bad because they are strong, and one class who are bad because they are good.

Under the system of the ancient religions the majority of the people were good people of the first class, in the sense that they had kept the taboos imposed on their class and felt assured of the favor of mana. Such persons might become tainted or bad by breaking some taboo or law, but it was their earnest endeavor to restore themselves to goodness by making the required sacrifices and performing the necessary acts of purification.

All the various duties of a man in his family life and in his social and political relations were included in his religion. The Pius Æneas derived his piety from observing the standards of duty enforced by his religion. In escaping from Troy he first made sure of his family gods. He carried them and his father on his back, took his boy by the hand, and left his wife to be lost in attempting to follow as best she could. This was piety because it was a true expression of patriarchal religion. In most nations, as in Japan, all the customs of the natives, even the costumes worn on occasions, are a part of the religion. In Rome, Brutus and Cato were examples of that obedience to law and unbiassed justice, which were there the mark of the religious man. In the middle ages, loyalty to the king and to the feudal overlord were a part of religion, and essential to a man's goodness. The whole social structure rested on religion. Slave as well as potentate was taught to be content with that place in life where God had placed him. If he broke the laws and customs of the tribe or nation he would lose the consciousness of being a good man. We have already noted that all the various class selves, including the warrior self, rested back on the religion, and that to be good or religious it was necessary for a man to obey the rules and customs of his class. When a man advocated some different type of conduct than the custom of the tribe allowed, he then became bad, even if it were done with the best of motives.

In speaking of the transformation of the self we shall attempt to show the relation of these different types of goodness to different types of mind, and the method by which each can be treated and modified.

2. THE RELIGIONS THAT TRANSFORM MEN

To-day it is no longer necessary for all the men of a nation to belong to the same religion. In our great cities to-day, instead of finding all men stamped with the same religious self, we find innumerable religious groups, each of which is cultivating a different type of self from its neighbor, with different duties and different ideas of right and wrong. This is partly due to the fact that there are men present of many different races and tribes who retained their tribal religion when they changed their country. In America there are Chinese, Japanese, Russians, Syrians, and men of many other races who have brought with them their national religion, and whose character is still moulded by it. But among men of the same stock there is also a great divergence of religious belief.

This great change from the old world, where the behavior pattern of each tribe was formed by its religion, is due to the entrance into the world of certain religions that have been termed universal, because they were limited to no tribe or race, but considered that they had a mission to convert the world. The first function of the ancient religion was to hold the tribe together in obedience to its ruler and laws. A secondary aim, as already indicated, was to save the people from miasma which ever lurked to infect them. Whether this insidious hostile force was conceived of as pestilence, famine, and disaster, or as evil spirits, demons, and a personal devil, or as the wrath of God and punishment in hell-fire, it was religion alone that could save from it by its fetishes, and purification, and which could remove the taint and make the victim immune to the assaults of demons, and appease the wrath of an angry god by magic formulae, or by some sacrifice or act of faith.

As the consciousness of the tainted self increased in the world this secondary function of religion became of increasing importance, and religions began to appear which had no tribal significance but merely promised a sure way to escape miasma and to free men from the wrath to come. Each religion had its special system and formula,—some baptism or sacrament or prayer or creed which if neglected, or inadequately performed, or inaccurately repeated, would mean that the victim would remain in the power of the devil, and be visited with that eternal torture which was the portion of the tainted self.

As each religion or sect was convinced that its own way was the only one which could really save and that all the others were deluding men with vain hopes, and thus insuring their eternal torment, each one therefore regarded the others as special instruments of the devil to be fought to the death as a more terrible enemy than any hostile tribe. Each religion produced a characteristic self or behavior pattern with its special classification of right and wrong, and its special duties which were of supreme importance, since their neglect meant the loss of salvation and a doomed soul. These universal religions usually started as a rebellion against some old tribal religion and continued for a time as a secondary tribal religion until they were repudiated. Christianity began in this way and finally broke away from the old Jewish tribal religion, and took up its mission of saving the world.

3. THE CREATION OF A NEW TYPE OF PERSONALITY

Although we are all presumably Christian, there are perhaps many to whom it has never occurred to ask just what pattern of consciousness or type of personality Christianity is supposed to create. For it is certainly more than a body of doctrine or an ethical code or a form of worship. In addition to these it was certainly designed to be an agency for creating a certain type of man. It might interest you to inquire just what stamp Christianity has put upon your consciousness, and to what extent it has enlarged your personality. If we study the beginnings of Christianity we shall see that it was in part an effort to break away from a certain standardized pattern, and to create a self of a different sort.

When a man breaks a taboo in order to do a good deed, and acquires a tainted self by an act of virtue, and thus becomes bad by doing good, it is probable that he will either be crushed by the persecution of the good men of his day, or else that he will start a new religion. If he has followers, they are convinced that he is good, and that the religion which persecuted him is bad. This was the case with Christianity. The strictest taboo of the Jewish religion was that forbidding any work on the Sabbath. Even in recent times on the East Side of New York gentile boys used to earn their pin money by lighting the gas jets in the Jewish homes on Saturday at one cent a jet. It would have involved a Jew in serious sin to undertake the labor of lighting a fire of any kind on the Sabbath.

It was this very important taboo on the seventh day that Jesus broke by healing the sick on the Sabbath. The Pharisees were as shocked at this behavior as if he had stolen. They declared that he had a tainted self. When his disciples ate without the ceremonial washing of hands and cleansing of pots and pans, they also were declared to be defiled by the eating of unclean food. Instead of performing the ceremonies of purification, Jesus denied that they were unclean and attacked the whole system of ceremonial taboos. "It is not that which enters into a man that defiles him," he said, "but that which comes forth from his heart,"—the feelings and desires that issue in theft, murder, and adultery. Real defilement has to do with a man's inner self, not with external forms. "Ye cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, and within are full of uncleanness," he said. To keep free from defilement they must keep out all unbrotherly thoughts and feelings. These really affect the inner self and do defile it. Upon those whose inner self is tainted a real miasma gets its grip. "He that hateth his brother is in danger of judgment, and he that speaks contemptuously of his brother is in danger of hell-fire." If the sight of your eyes arouses evil feelings within, pluck out your eye and cast it from you. It is better to lose the eye than to have the miasmatic fire get hold of you. He attacked the Pharisees for thinking they could remain clean by performing these outward ceremonies while they cherished unbrotherly feelings within. "Ye devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers," he said. Thus he sought to alter entirely the accepted pattern of the good man by moving the barrier of things that are wrong so that it included feelings and thoughts. He placed his chief taboo on those unbrotherly thoughts and feelings.

He made as great a change in the classification of duties. He attacked the Pharisees for binding on the people burdens heavy to be borne,—that is, for teaching that they would lose the favor of God unless they performed a thousand petty duties that made life a burden, and yet did not create any higher or better self. "Ye tithe mint, anise, and cumin, and leave undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy and truth." From the many thousand duties enjoined in the Jewish law he chose just two which he laid upon all his followers, and told them that the rest would take care of themselves. They were—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It was the performance of these duties and not sacrifices and ceremonies that brought cleansing and salvation. "This do, and thou shalt live," he said.

There was a third point at which he attacked the religious behavior pattern of the day. This pertained to the source of mana. The Jewish religion was very specific in stating that the seat of mana was the temple at Jerusalem, and that mana could be gained by certain definite rites only. The whole religion was an elaborate system by which the people could secure and maintain the favor of God by attendance at certain feasts, and by prayers, offerings, and ceremonies. To be freed from sickness or sin a man must offer a certain sacrifice at a certain time and place. He then regained the favor of mana. Through the priests he might gain contact with mana and be healed. Jesus taught that in him rather than in the temple men could find God. He told all those that were sick or weary or tainted with sin to come to him and find healing and strength. Many people proved the truth of this, and by contact with him, at the mere touch of his hand, received healing and forgiveness. This meant the overthrow of the Jewish system, and the priests and the Pharisees naturally regarded Jesus as a blasphemer and the wickedest of men. He reversed the barriers of the taboo and told them that what was wrong was right. He taught that the duties they regarded as supreme were not duties if they conflicted with a kind act, and he asserted that they could find God in him and be saved through him without the aid of priests or temple. Such was his attack on the religious self of the day.

His attitude toward the pattern of behavior which characterized the aristocrat was no less surprising. The aristocrat in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, believed that his greatness was measured by the amount of service he received from others, and that he lost dignity, or was defiled, by serving his equals or inferiors. Jesus created a type of consciousness that felt that its aristocracy depended on rendering service. He sought to make men feel that they were degraded by sitting still and being served. Among his followers the great man is the one who renders most service.

We have noted that ordinarily a man felt that his prosperity was a measure of the favor of mana. If he was rich, God was with him. If he was poor, he must be tainted with sin. This self of the rich man was also attacked by Jesus. He said, "Blessed (or possessed of mana) are the poor, and they that hunger, and they that mourn, for theirs is the kingdom of God. Woe unto you that are rich, for you have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full, for ye shall hunger."

Thus Jesus attacked the three dominant selves or Behavior patterns of the day,—that of the religious man, the aristocrat, and the rich man, and sought to reverse their feelings. In place of these he created quite a new type of self in the world,—a man who was not crushed under the burden of a thousand petty duties and in constant fear of disaster resulting from some broken taboo. He had only to fear the taboo on unbrotherliness. He who did not give food to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and visit the sick must expect to be sent away into everlasting punishment. It is surprising that Jesus should have succeeded in permanently establishing a self so at variance with all the ideas of his day.

The old method of forming the self or enforcing behavior patterns was by fear and horror. This could affect conduct, but could not create love in a person who was thoroughly selfish. It could perhaps make a man act like a brother, but it could not make him feel like one. Christ said that to enter his kingdom a man must be born again. He must acquire an entirely new concept of himself, namely, that he is a child of God and that all men are his brothers. If he holds this concept, he will keep the taboos and perform the duties. Christian conduct is the necessary result of this concept. The chief peculiarity of Christianity was the method of transmitting this concept and transforming the self. This was by a simple act of faith. He told his followers that they would receive the spirit of Christ. It was promised and they had only to accept. Those who believe in suggestion consider this to be correct psychology. If a man is first given a clear idea of the self that he is to receive and is then told that on a certain occasion and under certain powerful emotional stimulus he will become that self, then if he has a nature that is reasonably suggestible, it is quite possible that he will accept this new concept as a true picture of himself. And if he does so the emotions involved seem to be adequate to recondition his reactions. At any rate, the method was successful with the group that formed the primitive church. The transformation was partly due to transmitted emotion, but these converts also were conscious of a new self.

To get a man to accept a new self or behavior pattern, he must become dissatisfied with the old one. Converts were not easily made from those possessed of the type of consciousness we term the enlarged self or from "good men" like the Pharisees. The Christian converts for the most part did not come from the good men of the nation who regarded the breaking of the old taboos with horror, and thought the Christians wicked and deserving of death. There were, however, certain publicans and harlots, generally reputed to be wicked, and conscious that they possessed a tainted self, who felt the need of some power stronger than that of the old sacrifices and sprinklings to cleanse them from their taint. This they found in the touch of Jesus. By contact with him they felt that they were freed from taint and that they received divine power or mana which gave them the new enlarged self.

It was commonly thought that sickness was the result of miasma and that it came from some sin or contact with evil. It was usually cured by driving out the evil spirit or cleansing from the sin by means of some ceremony, or by some contact with the mana. Some of these sick folk felt so powerfully the divine power in Jesus that at his touch the taint was removed, and their sins were forgiven, and their sickness healed. There were also those who felt that they were possessed of evil spirits and at his touch these spirits were cast out.

In addition, there were vast numbers of poor people who had been taught to believe that poverty was the result of miasma, and who therefore were conscious of a tainted self. They expected the coming of a kingdom which would bring them freedom from taint, and riches and prosperity, and they looked to Jesus as the founder of that kingdom. Those who followed him were then for the most part men with different types of the tainted self. Even Peter cried, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man," an expression which no Pharisee would have used. He transmitted the self in them all by bringing them the consciousness that they were freed from taint, and therefore saved from the wrath of God.

The first type of the Christian self was then a self conscious of freedom from taint, and of the favor of God. This created a change from melancholy, and depression, and fear, to a state of peace and happiness. It is equivalent to the self of the good man of the first type, who felt himself good because there was nothing bad against him. In connection with this consciousness of salvation, the feeling of gratitude and devotion to Christ seemed to result in transmitting some of Christ's feeling of brotherly love, and he taught plainly that those who did not have this spirit of love were none of his.

There was, however, a second type of the Christian self or consciousness pattern which all were taught to expect either at once, or as a later development. This was a type of the enlarged self with added powers to heal and see visions, and speak with tongues, and control men. This self came from receiving the Holy Spirit, and when this spirit was received, the convert felt himself inspired by God. Sometimes he had power to heal the sick, sometimes to speak in other tongues, and nearly always he felt that he had a vision of the truth, that God spoke through him, and that he was divinely directed, and shown what to do. This type of self worked some disaster in the early church, for groups such as the Marcionites and Gnostics arose, who claimed this enlarged self, and under divine direction did many things that were considered unjust and immoral.

The Christian pattern at first was a modification of the Jewish pattern. A man had to become a Jew before he could be a Christian. Paul, however, altered this and made it possible for a man of any race or tribe or class to become a Christian by pledging himself to follow and obey Christ. He was then told to expect this change of personality by which he would acquire the Christian Consciousness. He was to receive the spirit, which meant a complete change in the inner life. He would cease to desire the things of the flesh, and the old emotions of anger, wrath, jealousy, and bitterness would be driven out by the new feelings of love, joy, and peace. This change actually took place in many instances, either by direct transfer of emotion from the group to the convert, or by suggestion, when he accepted this new idea of himself. Men who were divided from one another by various racial, tribal, and class concepts, Greeks, Jews, slaves, merchants, and soldiers, accepted this new self which quite transformed their lives and their relations to one another. The slave remained a slave, but the new concept gave him an enlarged self instead of a tainted self, and allowed him to think of himself as possessing greatness since he rendered service.

4. THE POWER OF THE ANCIENT SYMBOLISM

Here in primitive Christianity was something very real and vital in the way of an agent for creating a consciousness of a peculiar type, and it is perhaps surprising that we do not feel a similar reaction to-day. To understand the reason we must look back and see how Christianity gradually became an agent for creating selves of quite a different type.

A self, or Pattern of Consciousness, whose characteristics were chiefly determined by the inner feelings, was probably too advanced an idea to endure in a world trained for centuries in the conception of mana and miasma. Men were so used to the thought that this besetting evil could only be escaped by external ceremonials and magic formulæ that some return to that method seemed inevitable. We have already noted how primitive

Christianity was gradually transformed into a religion of the mana and miasma type with taboos such as that against eating meat on Friday and with a thousand laws and ceremonial duties. The miasma, conceived of as the devil, or the wrath of God, gained hold upon any one who broke these laws or taboos, or neglected the various duties of prayer, confession, and attendance at mass. The whole world was infected by miasma, and under the power of the evil one. All the race, present potentially in Adam, shared in his guilt and were under condemnation. From this evil none of the old sacrifices and offerings could cleanse, but as the Israelite was cleansed from guilt by placing his hand on the head of the lamb he sacrificed, so any man who accepted the death of Christ on the cross as a sacrifice made for him was cleansed by it from his sin. Later it was held that the rite of baptism cleansed a child from the taint and saved it, while the unbaptized child, infected with the racial miasma, was doomed to the fires of hell. Other requirements similar to those of the other religions were gradually added. The mass was a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. By participating in it the worshipper received cleansing and divine power. Sprinkling with holy water was also a means of purification. A ritual as elaborate as that of Egypt with its ceremonies and feasts and prayers and postures was developed in which every one must participate.

Though the outward forms were changed, the Christian self or behavior pattern was in some measure retained. The taboo on unbrotherly conduct was recognized as an ideal and the belief remained that in Christ was the source of mana. The difference was that the barriers of right and wrong were reinforced by the old miasma system, and the self was acquired and maintained by outward forms instead of inward transformation. If a man transgressed, the powers of evil or the devil laid hold upon him and he must escape from the tainted self by the prescribed ceremonials.

The formation of behavior patterns was once more under the control of the priesthood, who had the power to confer mana, or to expose to miasma by their curse. In the middle ages there was little difference between certain of the class selves produced by this system and the corresponding ones developed by the Egyptian, Greek, or Roman religion. The warrior felt himself upheld and enlarged by the aid of Christ or Saint Michael instead of Amen Ra, Pallas Athene, or Jupiter Capitolinus, but the effect was the same. In character the Christian warrior was no less cruel or vindictive toward his enemies than the warrior of Rome, and, in fighting against unbelievers or in dealing with Jews, he felt that loyalty to Christ demanded that he should treat them with the extreme of cruelty, and thus avenge the insult which they had inflicted on his Lord.

In one respect the self of the Christian warrior or knight differed from the non-Christian. The Christian principles of generosity, sympathy, and brotherhood had gained some foothold in the old warrior self, and produced what we have termed the gentleman. In addition to the old warrior virtues of courage, truth, and loyalty to his king, the knight was bound by a definite code. He must succor the weak and afflicted, defend the cause of Christ, and help women in distress. Certain orders took the vow of chastity, but for the most part the Christian knight was content to give his allegiance to the Holy Virgin. This involved an attitude of lofty sentiment which led him to revere and adore a type of womanhood which was both aristocratic and chaste. For some centuries Europe was largely dominated by this warrior type, sworn to the service of Christ and the Virgin, pledged to uphold justice and righteousness, to defend the weak, and help the suffering and afflicted, and fight against all tyranny and cruelty.

With this exception the Christian classes differed little from those of the pagan world. There was, however, a higher standard which could be enforced when there were men in the priesthood of high character. After the massacre of Thessalonica the Emperor Theodosius was compelled to do public penance for many days before he was admitted to the services of the church. This power, however, was used as often to maintain the material supremacy of the church, and Gregory the Seventh kept the Emperor Henry the Fourth on his knees in the snow merely over the question of the investiture of bishops. In the main the power was used to bring about a higher standard and to do away with strife, and the Truce of God, enforced by the church, prevented a certain amount of warfare.

With all that was retrogressive, credit must be given to the Catholic church for one of the most effective means ever known of enlarging the personality.

We have shown that it was the effort of primitive Christianity to create a self or consciousness pattern of a new type, and that this was to be accomplished by the mystical experience of receiving the Spirit. For the ordinary ignorant individual this purely spiritual method was difficult. It is not easy to make a man feel that he is a different person. The Catholic Church adopted a method which has proved extraordinarily efficacious throughout the ages. The church declared that when the bread and wine were consecrated for the Communion service or Mass, by a miracle it was transformed into the actual flesh and blood of Christ; so that not only was he truly and actually present at the service, but the worshipper in partaking of the Communion received Christ into himself. The whole ceremony was conducted with such solemnity and beauty that the people really felt that Christ was present. It was no mere intangible spirit but his actual flesh and blood that touched them and entered into them. It was a convincing symbol. They knew that Christ was there within them and this consciousness created a new self. The old tainted self was purged away and they were actually and tangibly one with Christ. There are thousands of witnesses to the amazing power of this wonderful symbolism to create a new enlarged consciousness,—a sense of union with God, of peace and of joy, and a feeling that base and sinful acts were impossible. Recognizing that the consciousness would ultimately fade away, provision was made to repeat the ceremony at stated intervals so that this enlarged self might be constantly maintained. A more wonderful or beautiful method to arouse and keep alive the higher self in the masses of the common people probably could not be devised. In spite of all the abuses into which it falls the method still retains much of its ancient power.

5. THE TABOO ON NATURAL DESIRES

To understand the later forms of the Christian self, it is necessary to consider a behavior pattern which had its origin in antiquity, and which became a very powerful influence. It has been shown that every tribe had a list of certain objects or foods infected with miasma that any one must avoid to escape the tainted self. We have noted that the Jews regarded women as miasmatic at certain times. Certain groups, as the Essenes, avoided all association with women as bringing an evil infection. Certain sects had the idea that the flesh and all its desires and impulses were miasmatic and produced a taint. The gratification of the appetites and yielding to passion left a stain on the soul. This idea was developed by Paul, who taught that the flesh and all its desires were opposed to God, and that its fruits, anger, wrath, malice, lust, and evil desires of all kinds, brought down on man the wrath of God. John also taught that the whole world was in the power of the evil one, and that all the desires of the flesh were evil. This naturally led to the formation of groups of Christians who tried to cut themselves off from all fleshly indulgence in order to escape the taint. Some fifty thousand young men retired to the wilderness and deserts of Egypt and Syria. They never looked on the face of a woman; they slept on bare stone, and ate only bits of grass or raw grain, scarcely enough to keep body and soul together. This movement was all a product of the tainted self. These men were wretched because continually conscious that in some way, in thought or in word or act, they had yielded to the desires of the flesh, and defiled their souls. As they regarded every natural desire and feeling as sinful, they were overwhelmed all the time with the consciousness of sin.

No more terrible plan of torture for the soul could be devised than to put such a taboo on all its normal activities. There was some reason in the attitude of the prophets who banned antisocial acts as sinful. And the position of Jesus in placing a taboo on all unbrotherly acts and feelings, though difficult to maintan, was of great value in social development, but this further step of putting a taboo on every desire of the flesh, made it a sin to do anything that one wanted to do merely because one wanted to do it, and not for any evil effect it produced. The tainted self was thus created in thousands of young men of the day who might have been leaders in transforming the world, but who instead devoted all their energies to stifling and choking every normal feeling and impulse until there was nothing left but the mummy of a human soul. In addition to this movement of the hermits, every priest in order to preserve purity had to remain unmarried and avoid all contact with women. Since meat conveys the desires of the flesh, all Christians were commanded to fast from meat one day in the week. Fish, which are cold-blooded, and reproduce without sinful feelings, were safe food for the holy.

The ascetic self was produced in another way than by means of the tainted self. It has been shown that in certain tribes there were men who became possessed by mana at certain times, and who then acquired supernormal powers and spoke as representatives of the god. This possession by mana was often brought on by fasting or by some severe discipline of the body, and in many nations there arose the idea that this enlarged self, due to the inspiration of mana, could be acquired by fasting and self-denial, and even by self-torture. In India the Yogis hoped to acquire supernormal powers by this discipline of the body. They went without food till they were living skeletons, they stood in one posture until their limbs became rigid, or held their hands clenched until the nails grew through the flesh; they slept on a bed of sharp spikes, and ate food that was disgusting in its filth because, through this torture of the body, they expected to gain great powers of the spirit and to become conscious of union with God. Among the Jews the sect of the Nazarites sought to acquire mana by similar acts of self-denial.

This idea was also taken up by the Christians. Certain words of Jesus were understood to mean that higher powers could be gained by self-mutilation and self-torture of various kinds. His statement that it was not necessary to be rich to have divine favor and that the poor and hungry could be blessed, was applied to mean that hunger and poverty were the road to the enlarged self and the life of the spirit. There thus arose groups like the followers of Saint Francis who renounced all earthly possession and lived a life of celibacy and self-denial in order to acquire spiritual blessings. They were characterized not by the consciousness of the tainted self but by that of the enlarged self, and felt themselves filled with a heavenly joy and with the consciousness of divine love and peace. They also had power to heal the sick, and to control men by divine powers.

In some cases there seems to have been a combination of the tainted self and the enlarged self. Saint Simeon Stylites, who lived for years on the top of a stone pillar, enduring the scorching heat of the desert sun by day, and the icy cold by night, exposed to rain and storm, and lying on the hard stone until his body was covered with sores, apparently had both the consciousness of sin and of divine powers. The same seems to have been true of the Flagellants and of the Penitentes, their present representatives in New Mexico. Every Eastertide men of this society carry crosses of several hundred pounds weight so that they can scarcely stagger under them, and are lashed with thongs of leather and iron nails, and with branches of cactus, until they are streaming with blood. At the appointed place one or more representatives are crucified. A traveller reported that he found the victim weeping and on inquiring the cause, found that it was because the government had forbidden him to be nailed to the cross, and he could only be tied on for the space of three hours. Such application of self-torture is rare in the Western world, though common enough in the Orient among the Yogis or among the Dervishes in the Mohammedan world, where it seems at times to produce supernormal powers.

The milder form of self-denial was adopted by many hundred thousands of the ablest men in the Middle Ages, and the brotherhoods of Franciscans, Benedictines, Dominicans, and Carthusians spread over the whole of Europe and absorbed those men of superior type who disliked fighting and brawling, and therefore were not candidates for the warrior self. The Christian warrior and the Christian monk were two types of the Christian self which were about as divergent as could well be. For one, fighting was wrong, for the other it was his whole life. The Divine power helped the warrior to destroy unbelievers and to punish them by the cruellest torture; it inspired the monk to deeds of kindness to his enemies. The duty of one was to aid ladies, and of the other to keep away from them. One led a life of magnificence, the other of poverty. One conquered evil by force, the other by non-resistance and prayer.

There was a third reason for developing the ascetic self beside the endeavor to escape taint and effort to acquire mana. The Stoics practised asceticism to discipline the body and to develop the powers of the soul. In India the Buddhists had much the same idea. They sought not to escape miasma or to become possessed by mana so much as to discipline the powers of both body and soul, so as to secure the fullest self-control. They avoided both self-indulgence and self-torture, and sought the best self-development.

The influence of this ascetic self or behavior pattern was very great upon the whole world. Even those who did not adopt it felt a certain compulsion to do so. The Emperor Charles the Fifth yielded, and turned monk in his old age, and renounced the world. His example was followed by many nobles and women of fashion who felt that thus only could they escape from the taint of sin and the danger of hell fires. To-day the number of those who renounce the world and become monks is much less, but the old idea of the contagion of evil associated with fleshly desires still remains, and there are branches of the Christian Church who feel that any such indulgence is sinful, and their adherents are conscious of a tainted self if they smoke or dance or play cards or wear gay garments or act frivolously with a person of the other sex.

In the Middle Ages it was only the monk who was banned from the things of the flesh, but later certain branches of the Protestant Church put a taboo on all pleasures of the flesh which applied to all their members. This produced what has been termed the Puritan self. This is quite a different type of self from that of the soldier or athlete who like the Buddhist abstains from such things as a matter of discipline. With the latter there is no miasmatic barrier that limits the self. They regard indulgence as inexpedient but not wrong, while for the Puritan there is a barrier of horror that shuts him off from such acts which he feels to be sin. Certain very sensitive souls even come to feel that to yield to any selfish desire is a sin. To-day there is a reaction against the ascetic self of this type. Men who discipline themselves in order to attain some standard are admired, while those who refrain from indulgence because they fear the contagion of evil are looked down upon.

6. THE PROTESTANT ATTEMPT TO ENLARGE THE SOUL

A large percentage of the population of America are Protestants, but probably very few understand that Protestant Christianity is one of the most extraordinary systems ever created to produce in men the type of consciousness which we have termed "the enlarged self." If it has not done this in the case of the Protestants you know, it is worth while to study the system and to determine whether the fault is with it or with them.

The Protestant self was greatly influenced by the ascetic self, as has just been indicated, and it will now be possible to understand its development. The Protestant Reformation was an attempt to return to the more primitive form of Christianity. As stated, under the Roman Church various class selves which had been created and maintained were closely similar to those of pagan countries. Instead of freeing itself from pagan elements that had crept in, the Church had become dominated by them to an intolerable degree, and abuses crept in which the Church later on condemned.

The Protestant revolution was occasioned by the attempt of certain unscrupulous men who claimed to possess the authority of the Church to apply this system of penance, without regard to its ethical effect, as a means of extorting money. Everything was done to picture the torments of the dead in purgatory. Their relatives were shown how by the payment of money the hours of torment of their dear ones might be reduced. Tetzel's famous proclamation stated that the red cross he bore had as much efficacy as that of Christ. "Draw near, and I will give you letters duly sealed by which even the sins you shall hereafter desire to commit shall all be forgiven. Repentance is not indispensable. Indulgences save not the living alone, they save the dead. Hearken to your departed parents and friends who cry from the bottomless abyss: 'We are enduring horrible torment. A small alms will deliver us.' The moment the money clinks in the chest the soul escapes from purgatory." There was actually a scale of prices for different crimes. Polygamy cost six ducats, sacrilege and perjury nine ducats, murder eight, witchcraft two. The burgher had to pay more than the peasant and the noble paid a still higher rate. The conflict with the Church was precipitated by a man who confessed his sins to Luther. When Luther told him he must repent and renounce them, the man announced that he intended to continue committing the sin and produced an indulgence which gave him full forgiveness for sins he intended to commit. This, of course, reduced the whole miasma system by which men for ages had been held obedient to law to a mere fiasco. For a few pennies a man could purchase the right to commit any crime he had in mind. The barrier of horror built up with such pains to preserve society from disintegration was made ridiculous. The theory was that the merits or virtues of Christ and of the Saints, being in excess of the amount needed to save them, constituted a treasure of Mana in the hands of the Church, which could be drawn upon and assigned to any sinner. When such a sinner had the sealed certificate he knew himself possessed of the merits of Christ in sufficient amount to counterbalance any sins he might commit. It was an extraordinary elaboration of the old fetish idea of the savages, and it seems strange that it could have been maintained in a world that had been so long in contact with Greek thought.

The Protestants repudiated the whole system which declared that the taint of sin was removed by these formulæ and rites of the church and that mana was acquired through the priests and the sacrifice of the mass. One might expect that they would have turned from outward formality to insist on the inward life and ethical conduct as the primary requirements, but they denied that the evil infection was a matter of ethics, and the result of wicked conduct. It could not be escaped by any good deeds or any life of virtue. It was inherent in the flesh and its desires, as the old ascetic belief held, and even baptism did not avail to save from it. The taint was so virulent that there was but one means of escaping it and of finding salvation from the fires of Hell. This was the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The mediation of the priest was not necessary. Any man who believed was saved by that act of faith, no matter how great his sin. Luther says in his thesis: "Works of men, let them be as fair and good as they may, are yet evidently nothing but mortal sins. That man is not justified who does many works, but he, who without having done works has much faith in Christ." That is, the treasure of Christ's merits is there to be drawn upon, but no indulgence from the priest is necessary. The sinner can gain it and thus cancel all his sins by a simple act of faith. This statement sounds like mere magic of the primitive pagan type. Here is a miasma which is not due to anything a man has done or any object he has touched, but to a magic, invisible effluvium in his flesh. Its taint is removed by a blood sacrifice made by some one else, which becomes valid to remove his sin as soon as the man utters a certain formula. As an attempt to produce virtuous conduct it seems absurd. But it was not an attempt to create ethical conduct. It was a very extraordinary and effective psychological method of producing a different type of self. It was an elaboration of the New Testament method where the new self or Spirit was received as a gift of God, and it followed a definite sequence.

This characteristic of Protestantism may be due in part to the personality of Luther and the way in which his self developed. As a child he was repeatedly flogged by his parents until the blood came for trifling faults which he did not intend or understand. This seems to have developed in him that terrible consciousness of the tainted self, which only increased when he went away to school at Magdeburg and Eismach, and was compelled to beg his food from day to day, and was so broken by rough treatment that even when men were disposed to aid him, he ran from them in terror. These experiences seem to have created in him the sense that he was guilty and infected with evil, and that God was as harsh a judge as the men about him. There is a tragic pathos in his description of the mental anguish which broke down his health. The sin of which he was conscious was not any objective evil he had done. It was the old tainted self produced by the mental suggestion of the miasma system. What was necessary was to cure a mental state, not to reform conduct. Such sin could not be escaped by doing good deeds, but only by some more powerful counter suggestion.

It was this which finally transformed Luther as we shall see, and it is therefore natural that he should have made his own experience the basis of the religion he founded. For its successful operation it was necessary that each individual should follow the same sequence of mental states. The great revivalists of the Protestant faith, who won the greatest number of converts and applied the method most successfully, pursued this course. Its aim was to bring about a real transformation of the self. Its methods will be considered in the chapter which deals with self transformation. At this point it is sufficient to note that Protestantism was perhaps the only agency to attempt to create character by the method of giving a man a new concept of himself.

7. MODERN RELIGIOUS PATTERNS

As we meet our friends who belong to different religions or sects, we are aware of certain differences in the behavior patterns thus created. In former days these differences obtruded themselves violently but to-day it would be difficult from their appearance or ordinary conduct to distinguish the Presbyterian from the Episcopalian. The Methodists and Baptists have clung more closely to the Evangelical self, and have insisted on the necessity of transformation. The Baptists theoretically administer baptism only to those who have been through the experience of conversion, and who are conscious of the new enlarged self. Many of the Methodists maintain the old miasmatic horror of certain self-indulgences which are elsewhere regarded as harmless.

The Presbyterians have been suspicious of emotion in connection with the transformation of the self, and have emphasized the intellectual side. By them it was regarded as necessary to study the Bible, which was the inerrant word of God, and to understand the plan of salvation, an arrangement of complete justice by which the infinite sin of the individual was paid for by the infinite sacrifice of Christ. There is a certain element of fatalism in the Presbyterian self, due to the belief that every one is predestined either to be saved or to be lost. This Church created an intellectual self which was nourished on doctrine in place of the more emotional self of the Methodist, which was built on the love of Christ rather than on dogma. The Presbyterian self has a keen consciousness of the stern justice of God, and of its duties as a servant of the Lord and member of the kirk.

The Episcopal Church holds to more of the ceremonial of the Roman Church, and insists on the necessity of a priesthood in the apostolic succession, to whom mana has been conferred by the laying on of hands. An important element in the Episcopal self is the beauty of religion, and the consciousness created has less of the intellectual than the Presbyterian, less of the emotional than the Methodist, and more of the æsthetic element.

The Quakers perhaps have kept nearest to the primitive Christianity in placing a ban on unbrotherliness and strife of all kinds. They also cultivated the enlarged self through the inspiration of the spirit, which usually came to them directly, without following the Evangelical sequence, beginning with conviction of sin. They believed in divine guidance, and waited before speaking or acting until they felt the witness of the spirit. This at times produced the wildest vagaries, as this method usually does in those selves who yield themselves entirely to the guidance of impulses which come from outside their own intelligence. Fox, their founder, was divinely guided on entering a certain city in England to strip off his shoes and walk barefoot through the streets proclaiming that the wrath of God overshadowed the city because of the blood of his slaughtered saints. He knew no reason for this proclamation, but afterward thought it was because in a Roman persecution certain Christians had there been put to death. Similar vagaries occurred in the early history of New England, but in the main the spirit of the Quakers has been close to that of the primitive Christian.

CHAPTER VIII

STANDARDS

I. THE SHAPE OF PERSONALITY

We have enumerated and described a great variety of those costumes of the soul that we term behavior patterns, so that it should be possible for any one to choose a pattern becoming to his temperament and capabilities. You may be further interested to know out of what material these patterns are cut, and we shall endeavor to give some suggestions in a manner which, though not strictly scientific, may yet prove to illuminate slightly a somewhat impenetrable question.

We have spoken of imposing standardized selves or patterns of consciousness. By this phrase we do not mean that a man actually receives a different self but merely that after a certain amount of training or argument he accepts a new concept of himself which alters the behavior and attitudes of the old self. When we think of a man we think of his face rather than of the self that is behind it. But we have suggested that that self undoubtedly has features as distinctive and recognizable as his mouth and nose and eyes if once they are seen. We have noted that men differ in their capabilities, but what gives the real flavor to the personality of a man is his feelings,—the likes and dislikes that determine his behavior, and become crystallized into permanent attitudes. We have shown how man's behavior is controlled by the formation of an emotional screen, which shuts off, by a feeling akin to horror, the things which must not be done, and which he feels to be wrong.

Now a man is a most responsive mechanism. There is hardly any object or event in the outside world that would not occasion a reaction of some kind in the self, if it had the chance, and some authors tell us that the self is merely a bundle of reactions. But by this emotional screen some of these reactions can be blocked, so that it creates permanent patterns of behavior. A self should therefore be recognizable because it is thus definitely outlined and limited.

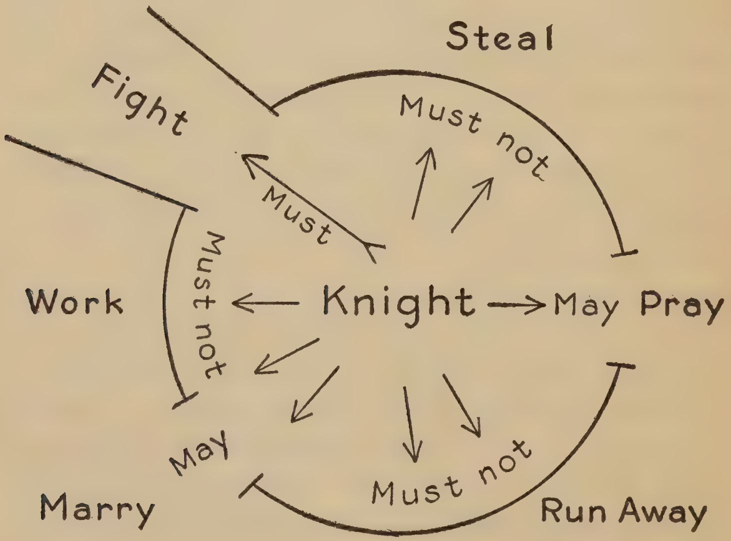
If we conceive the self as reacting and expanding in all directions like a balloon in process of inflation, it is as if an iron cover was placed over it with outlets only in certain directions, so that it is compressed on certain sides and only free to expand into action in other definite directions. In other words the reactions are conditioned in accordance with a certain pattern. If we consider food and drink alone, we may conceive the self as a bundle of desires that under proper stimulation would react naturally in all directions toward fruit, vegetables, beef, pork, fish, water, milk, alcohol. The Mohammedan self is shaped by a cover which blocks all reaction toward pork and alcohol, the Hindu is shut off from beef, the Buddhist from beef, pork and fish; the men of Ankole from all but fruit and milk.

What is true of food applies to every other object which might awaken desire. Each self is shaped by this cover which inhibits action in all directions save where there are these definite outlets. Even if all these men began with the same potential desires for food of all kinds and in this respect were similar in character, when the cover is placed they become men of different characters, according to the shape of the cover. Each one reacts differently. His attitude differs because of this modifying emotion.

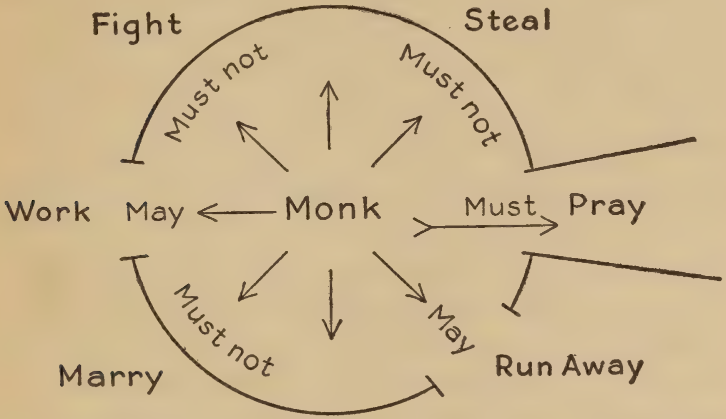
The character is not only shut in on certain sides by the feeling that certain acts are wrong, it is also extended or expanded in certain directions by the sense of duty. In other words there are certain compulsory reactions which do not depend on desire or hunger, and which might never occur in the natural man, for many of these duties are extremely disagreeable. For example, it was the duty of the priest whether hungry or not, to eat certain portions of the sacrifice. In New Ireland it was a man's duty to eat a portion of the decaying body of his chief at a certain date after the funeral ceremonies under circumstances too revolting to describe, a reaction certainly contrary to every normal impulse. And what applies to food is equally true of other duties which are equally disagreeable.

2. THE SHELL THAT SHUTS IN THE SOUL

Men may differ to some extent in their impulses and in the attitudes into which these feelings are stabilized by chance and circumstance, but the chief difference is caused by this cover which is super-imposed, inhibiting certain of these primary reactions and stimulating others, so that a definite behavior pattern is formed. We may illustrate by a diagram. There are certain forms of action to which a man may be stimulated by the objects or events of the outside world. If he sees something which he wants, to get it he may work, or fight, or steal, or pray, according to his character. If he is attacked he may fight or run away. If he sees a woman he likes, he may marry her or capture her. We may then picture him as surrounded by these possible reactions: fight, steal, pray, work, run away, marry. The knight or warrior self must not work, or steal, or run away. He may pray and marry. He must fight whether he wants to do so or not. His reactions must be conditioned to accord with a definite pattern. His self is then shaped as follows:



The monk, on the contrary, must not fight or steal or marry. He may work or run away. He must pray.



The serf must not steal. He must work. He may fight, pray, run, or marry. The knight may want to run away, but if he does not do so, he preserves his character. The monk may want to marry, but if he refrains he still is a true monk. A desire which is contrary to the pattern does not destroy the character, though it is an uncomfortable phenomenon. If a man has to fight against a part of himself, it is simpler first to repudiate it and refuse to recognize it as a part of himself. He can then regard it as a temptation of the devil,—a hostile impulse from outside himself. He thus goes further than merely to check a wrong action. He excavates the roots of it, as it were. He denies that the impulses that urge him to such action are a part of himself and thus repudiates a certain section of his personality.

The above are, of course, crude illustrations of the effect of adopting a class self or behavior pattern. Such outlines as are shown above give merely the general form of all individuals in a certain group. A modern individualistic self with its high standards of right and wrong, and multiform obligations, has an outline much more complex than that of any human head with its various protuberant features and excavations, and should be just as recognizable if it were made manifest to a close friend.

It seems then that what gives most distinctive form to the character is this emotional shell which restricts certain reactions and stimulates others and gives a firm recognizable outline to the self. This is the standard in accordance with which all the man's reactions must be conditioned. Moreover, to a certain extent this outline corresponds with the concept the man has of himself, and it must change as the concept changes. If like Ignatius Loyola he decides: "I will be a monk and not a knight," the outline must change to correspond with all its limitations and outlets. If he is suggestible, a fairly definite behavior pattern or concept of himself is usually given him by the group of which he forms a part. Or it may be the result of deliberate choice, and of the determination on his part to be a certain person. He practises the part until he feels that he really is it. There must always be more or less friction between that part of him which we may call the inner self, with its primitive desires and dislikes and fears, and the outer shell with its limitations and compulsions. It may be possible ultimately to avoid this repression and to attain to a sense of freedom by training the impulses to correspond with the shell so that there is a dislike or disgust opposite each limitation, and a desire opposite each compulsion. For example, the monk would feel disgust toward all women and toward fighting, would have no desire for the property of others, and always feel a strong impulse to pray; while the knight would have a passion for fighting and a dislike of manual labor,—while he regarded with disgust the thought of taking another man's property, and had no impulse to run away, no matter how great the danger. If a man's self were thus arranged with a strong desire that impelled him to perform every obligation and a disgust for everything he regarded as wrong, life would be very simple and without strain. If he wished only to do what he ought to do, he would have the illusion of perfect freedom. A freedom which results from bringing a man's desires into line with his standard makes for progress. But now there are those who advocate gaining freedom by allowing their desires to break through the shell and destroy the standard. This means degeneration to a lower type. Fortunately there is an increasing desire in men to help their fellows, and therefore an increasing correspondence of the inner emotion to the outer shell of social obligation, which means an increasing sense of freedom without loss of standard.

3. HOW SHELLS ARE CHANGED

Since it is the shell that gives character to the self, if one wishes to change the self the most effective method is to impose a different shell, or adopt a different standard. Probably the least painful method of doing this is to give the man a new concept of himself and thus change his conception of right and wrong. We shall consider this possibility in the next chapter. There are, of course, many men of the soft shell species. The emotions of which the shell is composed are not strong enough to act as a barrier, and therefore these men continually break through it. These are men who have no decided character and act as they feel at the moment. The man of strong character is he who, because of the strength of his purpose, or of the emotional power of the shell, follows implicitly and unalterably its pattern. He cannot be changed by chance emotions and passionate appeals, but only by accepting a new concept of himself and a new standard with it. Some men can be changed by awakening new desires and affections in the inner self. If the man recognizes the new affection as a part of himself and says, "I am in love," for example, it then changes his concept of himself and the pattern of his character. If, however, he regards it as an extraneous influence or "temptation," he may retain the old pattern at the cost of some suffering and friction. Men differ greatly, of course, in the strength of their feelings, but this does not necessarily change the pattern of the character. A man of strong feeling may have a character similar in pattern to that of a man of weak emotions. There would then be difference of force and similarity of form.

A man who has arrived at a clearly defined concept of himself, who knows what his desires and dislikes are, who has assumed definite attitudes toward all his environment, and who feels clearly what he must do and must not do, has then a well outlined character, as a result of this concept. If a man is known to himself and to others as a Frenchman, an artist, an ardent Roman Catholic, a monarchist and a misogynist, it is evident that a vast number of his reactions are pre-determined. Such a personality could be recognized from his reactions even if his face were invisible. A man's concept of himself is then a picture of his inner self which, though it may not be entirely accurate, exercises a formative power and, by providing this emotional shell, shapes his self into conformity with its outlines.

4. THE CHOICE OF A STANDARD

You may have discovered that this inhibitory element in a man which we have pictured in the form of a shell is that familiar thing which we call a standard, and that it is chiefly this which gives a recognizable outline to a man's individuality, as his face does to his outer self. We have shown the vast variety of standards which history has created, and have indicated that as a man's face is a composite of many ancestors, so his standard is a product derived from many groups. Every group shapes its own standard of right and wrong,—of things that must be done and must not be done, and according to this standard its members are judged. Such groups as have existed for many centuries have many of them perfected a standard which has beauty and significance and social value. It has been created as the result of long experience and is designed to cut out from the self impulses and behavior which are ugly and harmful and which cause pain or offense to others, and to shape a character which will be of use in social construction, because it has definite form, and stability and beauty. The walls of China were not built of jelly and whirlwinds, and he who attempts to build a business, a government, or a friendship, of men without standards is likely to be disappointed. One can build with blocks that are cubic, oblong, or hexagonal, or of any definite shape, but one cannot build with material that has no shape at all, or that changes its form every minute. A man who has a definite standard of any kind is of value, but the Protean creature, who changes shape every time he is grasped, is trying material out of which to build anything from a home to a commonwealth. When a man adopts a definite concept of himself, then whether he says, "I am a Quaker," or "I am a Cowboy," or "I am an English gentleman," one can do something with him. He may have an imperfect conception of his standard, and live up to it inadequately, in which case we say he has a low standard; or he may take pains to discover the perfected standard of the group, and follow it with meticulous exactness,—in which case we say that he has a high standard.

In former days each man regarded those who had different standards from his own as essentially wicked. He felt that such men were accursed and that it was dangerous to have any dealings with them. The Jew had no dealings with the Samaritan, the Catholic with the Protestant, the Congregationalist with the Unitarian. The British despised the standards of the Oriental, or even of the French. To-day we have become tolerant of the standards of others, and each man no longer feels that his standard is the only one.

Here lies a difficulty. As men recognize admirable qualities in the standards of the Chinese and the Hindu they begin to doubt the supreme importance of their own. Since another man's standard is as good in its way it seems foolish to take such pains to live up to his own. Thus one tends to relapse into a rather shapeless mass. The result is unfortunate. You learn to love the features of a friend whatever they may be. If they were constantly changing or if he possessed for a face a shapeless pudding of flesh, it would be more difficult to yield him devotion.

The same is true of the inner self. In picking one's friends one does not choose those who are incoherent and backboneless. We may admit that it makes little difference what standard a man has, but we still find it important that he should have *some* standard and conform to it. The standards of the monk and knight were totally different. If a man lived up perfectly to either standard, he produced a character which had nobility and charm and was of value to mankind. If he tried to cultivate both standards at once, he could produce only a meaningless hodgepodge distressingly lacking in beauty or value. The costume of an Arab Sheikh is as dignified and beautiful as any full dress worn by leaders of fashion at a New York ball, but if a man should attempt to combine the two, and appear in an Arab burnous and a tall silk hat, he would produce something hideous and incongruous. The same is true of the mixed standards we see to-day,—the man from Main Street who cultivates the pointed beard and morals of the Latin quarter, or the young lady from Iowa who tries to dress and behave like a Parisian actress. In building a house a man can choose what style it shall be,—whether Gothic, Elizabethan, Georgian, Louis XV or Empire, and whichever he chooses he can make of it a beautiful and noble edifice. If he builds without a standard, putting in bits of any and all, he produces a hideosity.

In this age a man is no longer bound down to the hereditary type as in past ages. He can choose his pattern from among the costumes of all nations and all ages. If a man is to be a clergyman it is wise for him to choose a different pattern from what he should if he is to be a politician. If he determines to be a man of the world he can pick the finest Chesterfieldian pattern and do as good a job with it as the saint or monk with his standard. No matter what a man's standard, be it that of a cowboy or aristocrat, a Quaker, or even a bandit, if he goes at it with real zest and verve, he commands at least respect and sometimes homage, while the man without a standard, or one who apes the externals of a type without an understanding of its standard or any feeling of its imperative reactions, usually proves singularly unattractive to his fellow mortals. A man who has chosen his standard, and is sure of it, acquires an enviable imperturbability. Sienkiewicz in "Quo Vadis" describes Petronius as such a character, so sure of his standard of elegance that he could despise both Nero and the death to which he was condemned, just as the Christian martyrs, secure in *their* standard, could regard with contempt the rulers of the world and the threat of torture and death.

5. ILLUSORY CONCEPTS

We come back to the proposition that in the formation and transformation of character the most important element is the concept which a man holds of himself. When his concept is illusory and a man is not all that he thinks he is in ability and charm, it nevertheless sets a standard to which his attitudes and behavior conform. Don Quixote was not quite the knight he pictured himself to be, but his concept of himself created attitudes and behavior which have a pathetic beauty of their own and have given him a vivid individuality.

Most illusory concepts are rectified by experience or the criticism of friends. When they refuse to yield to the testimony of facts or friendly critics, there is usually a touch of insanity in them. In fact, quite a large percentage of insanity is nothing else than a persistent illusory concept which is noticeably incongruous, as when a man fancies that he is Napoleon or George Washington. A regal self that persists in spite of warnings is termed megalomania. Abnormal psychology is not within the scope of this work, and we merely call attention to the fact that nothing can more completely upset and wreck the personality than the lodgement in the mind of such a false concept of the self. When a person feels that he is some one he is not, as the Russian girl who feels that she is the Princess Anastasia, it may induce a resemblance in behavior, but it must cause great unhappiness and confusion. Such cases seem to prove that a suggestible person can receive a concept of himself of any kind. Cases are on record of a woman who thought she was a sewing machine, and of a man who thought himself a peacock. Such incongruous concepts influence behavior as powerfully as those that are intelligent, and they seem to be very difficult to dislodge from the mind. It is quite possible for a man to use his intelligence to gain a true estimate of what he is, and to prevent him from forming concepts of himself that are contrary to fact. When the intelligence fails to function and the man is led to believe himself a great musician when he has had no musical training, or a doctor when he knows nothing of medicine, or to identify himself with some person of the past such as Cæsar or Napoleon, he is regarded as insane, though his behavior is quite consistent with his concept and his mind may operate quite correctly in all other respects save in the adoption of the concept. The harm that such a concept does when wrongly applied illustrates how great is its power, and shows what a great effect it can produce on character when rightly applied. Although a man's concept of himself may never coincide exactly with reality, if it is one which causes him to feel that he is a man of a type which his inheritance and achievements make possible for him to approximate, it then is the most helpful and dominant agent in the formation of his character.

6. THE COMPULSION OF THE STANDARD

Every type of self that is of value involves some belief that gives categorical force to its standard. Here perhaps is the greatest danger of our age. The weakening of religious belief tends to take from all standards their categorical force. It was the belief in a god who could reward and punish that gave force to the standard of both monk and knight as to that of the Roman warrior and Greek tragedian. A man who loses his religion often loses his character along with it, since he no longer feels it imperative to preserve his standard, and with his standard gone he loses his self.

The strongest types of character in the past were found in men whose standards were imperative and not merely casual. Therefore those concepts would seem to be most valuable that involve a standard which has behind it some of the old categorical sense of right and wrong. There is, however, always the danger of bigotry in connection with a standard of this sort. There are those who think that because we are losing the sense of miasmatic compulsion we are losing our characters along with it. To-day, however, a man is often held to his standard as a matter of consistency, just as an artist who starts to paint a picture in a certain style cannot introduce incongruous elements without violating his sense of good taste. In "The Tragedy of Korosko," Conan Doyle describes the capture of a party on the Nile by the Mahdists. They are given time to decide whether they will become Mohammedans or be executed. Among them is a Frenchman who is an atheist. In the moment of trial he sinks to his knees beside the others when they kneel to assert their Christian faith, saying that as a Frenchman, the heir of generations of Christians, he cannot become a Mohammedan in order to save his life. He had no real belief in Christianity but he could not consistently abandon the standard of his fathers.

We know many men to-day who are held by a sort of artistic sense from behavior incongruous with the standard they have chosen, and their friends can count upon them with as much certainty as if they were under the compulsion of miasmatic fear. We know that certain acts are impossible to them. The sense of honor is almost as categorical as the old-time conscience, and a man of honor will feel a sense of horror and disgust at the thought of doing anything dishonorable, which is as effective, as a shell, as any ancient taboo. If the old hard shell is turning soft, it is time we busied ourselves in manufacturing a new one, before all character turns soft too. Our children should be adequately equipped with shells, and if conscience seems weak they should at least be provided with a solid sense of honor.

Much is said to-day of self-expression, which is admirable where there is a self to express; an unchecked explosion of incoherent emotions as not self-expression, for there is here no real self to express. When the people of Rome adopted the idea that they could abandon their standards whenever these proved inconvenient, it did not take long for their society and empire to disintegrate. The efforts made by men like Aurelian or Majorian, to

him, and the unhappy man, not daring to go out lest he should be the prey of the beast, not daring to jump to the bottom lest he should be devoured by the dragon, clings to the branches of a wild bush. His hands weaken, but still he clings, and sees two mice, one white, the other black, evenly moving around the bush to which he hangs, and gnawing at its roots. The traveller sees this and knows that he must inevitably perish, but while thus hanging, he looks about and finds on the leaves of the bush some drops of honey. This he reaches with his tongue, and licks it off with rapture. "Thus I hang upon the boughs of life knowing that the inevitable dragon of death is waiting ready to tear me. I try to suck the honey which formerly consoled me but the honey pleases me no longer, and day and night the white mouse and the black mouse gnaw the branch to which I cling. I can see but one thing, the inevitable dragon, and the mice." His conclusion is that "the meaningless absurdity of life is the only incontestible knowledge accessible to man." It would seem that this is a modern development of the old miasmatic self that felt itself in the resistless grip of the forces of destruction and it is evident that the transformation from such a self would be desired by any reasonable being. The belief in the miasma became so intense that to people of the receptive type it seemed to fill the whole world. Some of the finest persons known to me have been so affected by this idea that they fancied themselves to be continually under the wrath of God and passed their lives in a mental torture that seems inconceivable to those who have not seen it.

We have spoken of the infected self which was the result of inward taint, and of that which came from the conception of an infected world outside, whose taint could not be escaped. There remains a third type which is more familiar to-day. As the belief in spirits and demons and possession by devils waned, the fear of miasma, under the teaching of science, was gradually transferred to germs and diseases. In the old days all sickness and disease was supposed to be caused by spirits, and there was consequently a feeling of fear or horror connected with it. This feeling seems to have survived, and associated itself with the modern scientific conception of the germ. It would be natural for people to take normal precautions to defend themselves from germs, but people of the receptive or suggestible type have preserved the old feeling of horror, which certainly is of no aid in curing the disease, and often seems to create the sickness which is feared. Instead of believing that they are possessed by evil spirits, many people to-day think without adequate reason that they are infected by germs and lavish upon them emotions worthy of an old-time devil. We have known people whose fear and horror approached mania. They seem to see germs like little demons sitting along the backs of the subway seats. To free themselves from the diabolic contagion they are continually washing their hands, and do not venture forth without a dozen handkerchiefs or towels to wipe away every possible germ. This fear is often so intense that it produces a mock disease, and the person unconsciously copies the symptoms of the sickness which he dreads. Paralysis has been produced in this way, and it is surprising to find how many sick persons to-day are so merely because they have received this idea of the infected self, and, just as a man of the last century felt himself to be infected with sin, so they are afflicted with the consciousness of disease.

3. PRIMITIVE CURES FOR THE TAINTED SELF

It is evident that a man with such a consciousness as is described in the foregoing instances would desire most intensely to be transformed. The system of religion, however, had produced more than it could heal and the sensitive suggestible man felt the symbolic purifications to be utterly inadequate. The Greek tragedian has pictured Orestes, after conscience had impelled him to slay his mother, driven by the Furies, hither and yon, and unable to find any relief from this sense of guilt and horror of himself.

The Roman Catholic system helped matters by introducing Confession of Sins and penances which relieved many who felt that suffering in some way purged from guilt. Where the sense of guilt came from some external act often unintentional, such methods availed. But when the ascetic behavior pattern got its hold and all the desires of the flesh were felt to be evil, no external rites could help. Driven by the anguish of this horror of themselves, men sought to purge themselves by all manner of self-torture.

James quotes from Suso, one of the fourteenth-century German mystics who in his youth had felt that the natural desires of his flesh were evil, and sought to remove the taint. He tells us that he wore for a long time a hair shirt, and an iron chain, until the blood ran from him. He wore an undergarment with strips of leather into which one hundred and fifty brass nails, pointed, and filed sharp, were driven. This fitted so closely that the nails were driven into the flesh. Lying thus in agony, he would "twist around and around as a worm does when run through with a pointed needle." He put on leather gloves fitted with sharp-pointed tacks, so that if he should try while asleep to throw off the undergarment, the tacks might then stick into his body. For the space of twenty-five years he invented various methods of torturing himself, and yet never seemed to receive the consciousness of freedom from taint.

Such a case is, of course, abnormal, but the general testimony from men of this type seems to be that self-torture did not avail to remove the sense of infection. Buddha in India came to the same conclusion, and after years of self-discipline taught his followers that the right path was the middle road between self-indulgence and self-torture. Those of the Catholic saints who reached this consciousness of inward taint seem to have been cured by the primitive Christian method of receiving a new self. Such was the case of Saint Augustine, and Saint Francis. They were men of the suggestible type who accepted the belief that the spirit of Christ entered into them and gave them a new self which came not from their own nature, but from God.

4. SELF-DISGUST AS A STEP TOWARD PEACE AND POWER

We come now to the Protestant method of curing the tainted self which is much more radical than those hitherto mentioned. It has already been stated that a transformation of consciousness was the goal in the Protestant process of character development and that there was a certain definite sequence by which this new self was produced. It started by convincing a man that he was so impregnated with evil that he was doomed to destruction. The old self was lost; the only hope was to get a new one. The old self could not be patched up by good works and efforts to please God, no matter how sincere. A self which was safe from destruction could be gained only from Christ. It was not a question of virtue. No matter how virtuous those were who had never heard of Christ, they were doomed. The new self could be gained only in a certain way and even those who tried to obey Christ's teachings were lost if they did not avail themselves of this recipe that secured transformation.

In order to bring about the necessary transformation, the first stage was this absolute disgust with the old self which we have described and which was called conviction of sin. Those who were afflicted with the tainted self had already reached this stage and were ready to ask "What must I do to be saved?" It was necessary to convince others that no matter how beautiful they appeared or how virtuous they thought themselves, they were really vile and sinful. They were taught that their flesh was corrupt by inheritance and that its every desire was wicked and displeasing to God. Jonathan Edwards told his congregation that they were like loathsome spiders that God holds in disgust over the pit of Hell ready to drop them into its flames. It seems incredible to-day, but by these vivid presentations of the shamefulness of their fleshly desires, of the depravity of their nature, and of the torments of Hell that awaited them, men who were quite respectable in character were so filled with the consciousness of sin and the fear of punishment that they were often broken down by the sense of their wickedness and of their impending doom. They were made to view this quite normal human self with intense disgust, and they felt a passionate desire to be rid of it and to acquire a self that was insured against the fires of Hell. Unless a man was convinced that he was utterly vile it was felt that his soul was lost, no matter how virtuous and kindly his life.

The early history of New England is full of instances where ministers wrestled in anguish over some worthy person who could not be brought to feel conviction of sin and who therefore could not be saved. There was a certain type of unsuggestible person, whom we have termed radiative, who could never be convinced of his wickedness, and the attempt resulted either in throwing him into antagonism with the church, or in convincing him that he could never be a Christian. Some were greatly troubled that they could not acquire this feeling of wickedness and were led to believe that they must be lost. To such the system did much harm. With those who were oversensitive to suggestion, the harm done was even greater, for there was created in men who were really virtuous and well intentioned this terrible consciousness of infection which could not always be cured.

On the other hand, with men who had become hardened in a life of self-indulgence or brutal cruelty, this method was perhaps the only one that could arouse them and make it possible for them to change to a better life. There was no intent to leave them overwhelmed by this sense of guilt. The aim of course was to proceed from this consciousness to that of the enlarged self, and in men of normal suggestibility this was usually done without difficulty.

The story of the revival conducted by Wesley reads like a miracle. The common people of England, though nominally Christian, were certainly far enough from the Christian ideal. They were drunken, cruel, profane and selfish. They needed to be transformed if any men ever did. Wesley pictured to them the evil of their nature with such power that he really gave them a horror of themselves. With them it was no illusion of an oversensitive conscience. He made them see themselves as they really were. Then he presented so vividly the Divine power and love that they were swept from despair into the consciousness of forgiveness and the joy that characterizes the enlarged self. He maintains that such conversion was invariably instantaneous, and gives innumerable instances.

This seems to prove that he was dealing with a type of mind that was childishly receptive and suggestible. The transformation effected in the social life of England was incredible. Men gave up their evil habits and began to lead lives of kindness and virtue in accordance with the Christian standard. Wesley was wise enough to keep his hold upon every individual by a wonderful organization which watched over them with the tenderest care. There are in the world a large number of men of the receptive type who are carried away by the crowd into bad habits and low standards which at heart they despise, and it was among men of this sort that the revival did a work of the greatest value. The eloquence of Wesley and Whitefield brought tremendous emotion to bear upon these men and after convicting them of sin was able to give to them by suggestion the consciousness of a better self.

5. THE RECEPTIVE MIND

In speaking of the revival of Wesley we have jumped too rapidly to conclusions. After conviction of sin and before the acquisition of the enlarged self there was a second stage which has been termed self-surrender. When a man reached the consciousness of the infected self and, overwhelmed with its horror, sought to escape from it, he often found this impossible to do. The emotional experience had driven this sense of sin deep into his subconscious mind and it could not be escaped by any effort of the will or any method of self-discipline. The patient usually sought to escape by terrible struggles of the soul and mental efforts. He was instructed that the only way was to cease all effort. Some speakers have illustrated the situation by the story of a little girl whose hand was caught in a vase. She could not withdraw it, and screamed with terror. Finally her mother asked, "What have you in your hand?" She said, "A penny." Her mother said, "Let go the penny." When she relaxed her grip on the penny, the hand easily slipped out of the vase.

They undoubtedly meant that the mind must be freed from its preconceptions and its tense emotional state and placed in an attitude to receive suggestion. Converts were to "let go" every thought of themselves,—of their worthiness or unworthiness, and every attempt to attain virtue by their own efforts. It is only when he recognizes the worthlessness of the old self and relinquishes it that the new self can be received. Luther says: "That pernicious and pestilential opinion of a man's own righteousness which will not be a sinner, unclean, miserable, and damnable, but righteous and holy, suffereth not God to come to his own natural and proper work. God must take the law in His hand to beat in pieces and bring to nothing this beast with her vain confidence, that she may so learn at length by her own misery that she is utterly forlorn and damned. Thy cowl, thy shaven crown, thy chastity, thy obedience, thy poverty, thy works, thy merits, what shall all these do? If I, being a rich and damned sinner, could be redeemed by any other price, what needed the Son of God to be given?"

David Brainerd went through the same phase. He says: *"I saw that it was forever impossible for me to do anything toward helping or delivering myself;* that all my pleas were vain, for I saw that self-interest had led me to pray. I saw that there was no necessary connection between my prayers and the bestowment of divine mercy; that they laid not the least obligation on God to bestow his grace upon me. When I saw that I had regard to nothing but self-interest, then my duties appeared a vile mockery and a continual course of lies, for the whole was nothing but self-worship, and a horrid abuse of God." Then out of this complete negation of self he finds the new self. "I was attempting to pray," he says, "but found no heart to engage in that, or any other duty. I thought that the spirit of God had quite left me, but still was not distressed, but disconsolate, as if there was nothing in heaven or earth could make me happy. Having been thus endeavoring to pray for nearly a half hour, then as I was walking in a thick grove, unspeakable glory seemed to open to the apprehension of my soul." He goes on to describe the rapture of the enlarged self. "My soul was so captivated and delighted with the excellence of God that I was even swallowed up in him."

Henry Alline gives an account of a similar experience in which, after struggling desperately to escape from the evil within him, he finally gave up all effort and sat down, as he says, "all in confusion, like a drowning man that was just giving up to sink." Then by chance he opened an old Bible. He says: *"At that instant of time when I gave up all to him to do with me as he pleased,* and was willing that God should rule over me at his pleasure, redeeming love broke into my soul with repeated Scriptures with such power that my whole soul seemed to be melted down with love." The new self, then, was not to be gained by any psychological process of reconditioning reflexes, or by any strenuous mental discipline, but simply by "letting go" of the old self and by placing oneself in a completely receptive attitude.

6. THE INFLUX OF POWER

The third and final stage in the Protestant method was that of sanctification, or of receiving the spirit. These terms described a vivid consciousness of the divine presence, and of a new spirit entering in and filling the self so that there was instant transformation from the extreme of wretchedness to the greatest joy. President Finney says: "All my feelings seemed to rise and flow out, and the utterance of my heart was, 'I want to pour my whole soul out to God.' As I went into the back room and shut the door, it seemed to me as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face. I fell down at his feet and poured out my soul to him." Then after a little time he says: "The holy spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression like a wave going through me. Indeed, it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love. It seemed like the very birth of God. No words can express the wonderful love that was shed abroad in my heart."

Mrs. Jonathan Edwards gives a similar description. "I seemed to myself to perceive a glow of divine love come down from the heart of Christ in heaven into my heart in a constant stream, like a stream or pencil of sweet light. At the same time my heart and soul all flowed out in love to Christ, so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing of heavenly love, and I appeared to myself to float or swim in these bright, sweet beams like the notes swimming in the beams of the sun. I think that what I felt each minute was worth more than all the outward comfort and pleasure which I had enjoyed in my whole life put together."

The attainment of such a consciousness is the vindication of a system which dragged men through such abysses of mental agony. It is difficult to estimate how many reached these heights of consciousness but there were many among the ignorant, as well as among the cultivated, who achieved a sainthood of this type. If it were only a consciousness of happiness that was produced by this change, it might not seem so extraordinary, but we find cases where the change affected the habits and desires of a lifetime. This would seem contrary to the tenets of modern psychology, but I have personally seen too many cases, and the documentary evidence is too strong to admit of doubt that in some mysterious way reflexes built up through years of habit are suddenly reconditioned and a man's behavior completely changed by such an experience. It occurs most frequently in men of the type we have termed emotionally radiative, who have been subject to bad habits and violent passions; among such are innumerable cases of men addicted to drink, like the well-known case of Colonel Hadley, from whom the desire for alcohol was entirely removed when he received this enlarged self. I have known a woman who was a brutal besotted drunkard, and who in one of her drunken orgies caused the death of her little girl by dragging her down two flights of stairs by the hair, who was completely transformed when she was converted. She lost all desire for alcohol and never touched it again, though her husband frequently beat her in his efforts to make her drink with him. She received the enlarged self with its accompanying peace and joy and had so vivid a consciousness of the divine presence that all those about her felt the happiness which she radiated. I could instance other such cases but it is perhaps better to turn to those verified by William James.

Among these the case of Richard Weaver is especially interesting, as indicating a complete change of character. This man was a collier and a pugilist. He loved fighting and drinking better than anything else. He describes how after his conversion, he rescued a small boy who was being ill-treated by a fellow workman. He says: "The workman said, 'I have a good mind to smack thee on the face.' 'Well,' I said, 'if that will do thee any good, thou canst do it,' so he struck me on the face. I turned the other cheek to him and said, 'Strike again.' He struck again and again, until he had struck me five times. I turned my cheek for the sixth stroke, but he turned away, cursing. I shouted after him, 'The Lord forgive thee as I have, and the Lord save thee.' " He describes how he was tempted by the thought that the other men would laugh at him for allowing Tom to treat him as he did. The next day Tom waited for him. When Weaver came to him, he burst into tears and said, "Richard, will you forgive me for striking you?" " 'I have forgiven thee,' said I. 'Ask God to forgive thee. The Lord bless thee.' I gave him my hand and we went each to our work."

This certainly seems as fundamental a transformation as to change a lion into a lamb. The man's attitude and reactions were those of a person totally different from the one who had been known hitherto by his name, and without his face few of his friends would have recognized him in his acts and words. This was the astonishing achievement of the Protestant method, to create in place of a person who was worthless or harmful, one who was happy and strong and of use in the world. Similar changes were produced by other religions but I am not aware of any other that undertook to put all its members through such a definite process of psychical development.

7. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE DISEASED SELF

Sickness has always been as much of a problem in the world as sin. The early church, and the Roman Church to-day, has claimed the power to transform the sick man, as well as the sinner, by faith and by the intercession or touch of some saint, and astonishing transformations of this type are still wrought at Lourdes. According to witnesses known to the author, only about one in a thousand of those who apply are cured, and these are apparently persons of extreme suggestibility. In such cases the cure seems to be accompanied by a real transformation of the self.

The Protestant method has not been as effective in transforming those whose tainted self took the form of disease, as those who felt themselves tainted with sin.

Some fifty years ago a physician by the name of Cullis elaborated a method for transformation of the sick self. It was termed "The faith cure" and produced quite a sensation in its day. The fundamental conception was that, just as the primitive savage regarded sickness as due either to the taint of miasma or to separation from mana, so sickness to-day was due to separation from God. The main effort of Dr. Cullis was to create a vivid consciousness of the divine presence and love which amounted to a type of the enlarged self.

Following this came Christian Science and certain other systems which dealt with sickness as a spiritual miasma rather than a physical limitation due to material causes. In some respects they resembled the method of Buddhism more than that of Protestantism. To the Buddhists sickness was only a peculiarly unpleasant part of that great Illusion which we call the material world. If a man is really convinced that all he sees and hears is unreal, he naturally ceases either to desire or to fear any such thing. Sickness and all its attendant germs pass into unreality with the rest of the world, and the attention is fixed upon things which are real and enduring. For the Buddhists, reality was spiritual. Some held the view of the Upanishads that the Inner Self of all things was the only reality. When the mind was fixed upon this and became conscious of unity with this greater self, it achieved an enlarged self which was unconscious of pain and of the body. This spiritual union also produces a change in character: when a man's attention and his desires are fixed upon spiritual realities he ceases to want the things of the flesh, and his behavior therefore is noticeably altered.

All such methods, like the mind cure, and new thought, and Christian Science, bring about transformation of the self by declaring the tainted self to be unreal, and therefore to be ignored instead of emphasized and exaggerated. The enlarged self attained by the Protestant method as a reaction from despair was naturally more intense in its experience of power and happiness, but more subject to variation, while that produced by the other method was usually calm and serene, and almost too indifferent to the ordinary affairs of human life.

There are, then, three main methods of transforming a "bad" man to a "good" man: the Protestant method which starts by convincing a man that he is bad and transforms him; the method just described which convinces him that he is Good; and a third method sometimes adopted by the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, which seeks to transform the man by changing his dominant emotions. The first two methods start with an appeal to the intelligence, and seek to convince a man either that he is wholly bad or that he is wholly good. The third method makes no such appeal. It prepares a ceremonial of great beauty with associations that enter into the roots of a man's soul and arouse the finest emotions. The appeal is made through all the senses; the spectacle of golden-robed priests bearing the Holy Grail appeals to the eyes; choirs that fill the vaulted arches of the great cathedral with solemn chords of sacred music appeal to the ears; fragrant clouds of incense that rise from the swinging censers appeal to the sense which in some ways is more potent than any other to stir emotion, and as a result, the man who entered discouraged and melancholy, or embittered and full of revengeful feelings is filled with new and exalted emotions and stirred to a devotion to that which is noble and beautiful, and when he leaves, for a time at least, he is a changed man. The difficulty with this method is that it produces no change in the concept which a man holds of himself, and effects therefore only a temporary change.

8. THE TRIUMPH OF THE METHOD OF FAITH AND SUGGESTION

It would seem to be evident from the preceding chapters that most of the varieties of the self that have been produced in the course of human history have been the result either of an effort to escape the tainted self or to attain the enlarged self. Religion has been the most potent agency in the creation and transformation of selves, and whatever the character of the religion, its power has lain in this twofold appeal. The character of the common man has been formed chiefly by the first appeal,—the promise of religion to preserve him or free him from taint if he obeys certain rules and follows a prescribed course of conduct. This is what has been termed salvation and nearly every religion has gained its power by holding the key to salvation so that without it no man might hope to escape. The taint or miasma has been thought to produce an infinite variety of effects upon the tainted man, from sudden death by diseases, plagues, famines, defeats in battle, and material disasters of all kinds, to mental torture, insanity, torment by demons, and burning in the fires of hell. The method of escape prescribed has been equally varied and has produced the standardized types of human character which we have described. The emotional shell which has shaped the self has been the result of this effort to escape taint.

Men of superior quality have been shaped more by the second appeal,—the desire to attain the enlarged self. Religion has also held the key to enlargement or sanctification and has prescribed the behavior essential to the attainment of this goal. With the primitive religions it has been a question of externals, such as the possession of fetishes or the performance of rites of consecration which set apart the priest and king, and gave them enlarged powers. With the higher religions enlargement has involved inward qualities and the development of spiritual or psychic powers, and the consciousness of unity with some spirit or with God. For this men have struggled and disciplined themselves until they attained, either by training or suggestion, a self of quite a different type. Most religions had only a tribal or national appeal and created merely a national self with its various classes and divisions. A few only are universal, and of these Christianity and Buddhism have emphasized most the inner development of the self. They have not been content to shape external conduct,—speech, behavior and customs, but have insisted upon controlling the springs of action—the feelings and thoughts of a man, maintaining that it was in a man's heart that his true self was found. They have promised salvation from spiritual and psychic forces and have offered an enlargement of the self which meant an increase of spiritual power and vision and a new consciousness of peace and joy. Although they started from different premises the appeal of both religions has been strikingly similar. This would seem to indicate that the requirements of human nature were the same in the West and in the East, and that the self essential to the higher social development of the race must be produced by similar methods everywhere.

With the Christian the miasma which he dreaded was sin, which was conduct, belief, or feelings which subjected him to the wrath of God and hence to eternal punishment. We have noted how this idea developed into the conception of original sin, which involved the belief that every man was impregnated at birth with this miasma, and doomed to eternal punishment unless he were saved. The Buddhist conceived of the miasma rather as suffering than sin. The problem of the Buddha was to find a path to escape from this suffering which was the common lot of mankind. No man could escape by death, for he returned to live his life over again, or else was condemned to suffer in some other world.

The way of salvation as originally taught by Jesus seems to have differed from that taught by the Buddha, but both religions developed in such fashion as to become strikingly similar. Jesus taught that salvation was to be found not by crushing the feelings, but by loving God with all the heart, and one's neighbor as oneself. It was the path of love that freed from sin. The Buddha took a different path,—that of intelligence rather than of the heart. He taught that all suffering, as well as sin, came from desire, and that the way of escape was to do away with all desire, and even with love itself, which was a cause of suffering. He indicated the path of right thought, conduct and feeling by which one might thus arrive at enlightenment or Nirvana and escape forever from the power of suffering.

The followers of Jesus, such as Paul and John, perhaps because they found his commandment too difficult for human flesh to follow, developed another path of salvation, which was based on the teaching of Jesus that those who believed on him would be saved. We have shown how Paul brought in the doctrine of original sin, and of the inherited impulses of mankind,—which made it impossible for them to please God. The only path to salvation was through the sacrifice of Christ which atoned for their sin and freed them from the curse of the law.

Later theologians elaborated the theory that the infinite sufferings of Christ cancelled the suffering due to the sinner and the infinite merits of Christ could be distributed to sinners who were lacking in merit. It was only necessary to accept the gift through some act of faith.

Mahayana Buddhism made a similar adaptation to the weakness of human nature and its inability to follow the path outlined by the great Teacher. This was the more remarkable because a cardinal tenet of the Buddha was that the miasma was all the result of the inexorable law of cause and effect, and that the individual must inevitably suffer for his shortcomings and could only escape by acquiring merit through right thinking and deeds of his own.

The Mahayana teachers held that the Buddha and the great Boddhisatvas insisted on the distribution of their superfluous merit to suffering humanity, and were even willing to postpone their entrance into heaven or Nirvana in order that the merit they had acquired might be applied to relieve the suffering of others. They even suffered the torments of hell in order to save men from their sins. To acquire the merit thus offered by the sacrifice of the Buddhas only faith was necessary, and by repeating the phrase, "Nam Amida Buddha," or in Chinese "Nam Omito Fo," the believer was saved and redeemed from taint. Buddhism thus renounced the philosophic path to peace by the conquest of all desire and human feeling, for the way of love and faith, and united with Christianity in seeking relief from taint through Divine love and sacrifice and its acceptance by faith. The way in which this method was applied has been already described. Both religions apparently found that the self of the ordinary man could be more successfully formed and transformed by the method of the transfer of emotion and that of suggestion, than by the more usual method of education and discipline.

In forming the enlarged self a similar development occurred. Enlargement has always been most successfully attained through a sense of unity with God. For the ordinary man this is difficult to achieve when God is vaguely conceived as an Infinite Spirit. Christ was presented to the church as the incarnation in bodily form of the Infinite God, with whom they thus came in contact. By their devotion to Christ they were made one with God, who dwelt in them, and thus enlarged their powers.

In the same way the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of the Infinite with power to forgive sin, to transfer merit, and to communicate enlargement, and through him his followers attained to greater powers, and entered Nirvana. They might even become Buddhas like him in the end. It was the effort of the higher type of Buddhist to attain this enlargement, rather than merely to escape from punishment.

Both religions, therefore, started in by teaching a higher ethic which dealt not merely with outer conduct but with the feelings and thoughts of the inner self. The real taint was here. Outer cleansing did not avail, and only inward purification could remove the taint.

Both religions then, instead of following the method of discipline and training the thoughts and feelings to conformity with their standards, changed to the method of salvation by faith. The convert was to be saved by receiving merit or a new self which was transferred to him when he called on the name of his lord and really believed that the gift was his. In other words both religions found that the most effective way of transforming a man was to get him to accept, by faith, a new concept of himself.

We have followed the history of the great religions and of their achievements in transforming the self and have discovered that those which were most successful were gradually compelled to adopt the method of faith which corresponds to our modern idea of suggestion. To-day we are prone to look askance at conversion, and all those doctrines of the past which produced such an amazing effect have lost their hold and are regarded by many as absurd superstitions. But there still remain thousands who are conscious of the tainted self in some of its forms, and who are in worse cases than men have ever been before, because they have lost faith in all the old methods of salvation.

Now if these pages prove anything they prove that it is perfectly possible to create almost any change in personality. If an absurd belief can produce so great a change and so strong and peaceful a personality as some of those just described, how much more can be done by a rational belief, intelligently directed. Those who are most unhappy are so usually because they are of the suggestible type, and some wrong suggestion has readily taken effect. There is no reason why they should not be cured with equal ease when the right suggestion is given. Coué astonished the world with the results which he produced upon sickness by this method, and Baudouin in his book "Suggestion and Autosuggestion" has outlined the scientific principles which underlie Coué's work. The astonishing effect of forming a clear concept of oneself as well and strong, and of repeating over and over one's conviction of its truth, is shown here by convincing examples and scientific demonstration. If any one wishes to understand and follow the detail of this method no better text-book could be found. The fundamental principle is precisely that which has been so often described in these pages. The method is based upon the power of the concept a man forms of himself. It involves faith, —that is, he must really believe he is the person whose portrait he accepts. From all that has been said there seems to be no doubt that there is a creative force which transforms a person into the likeness of the portrait he has thus accepted. He may call this power the Infinite, or Buddha, The Inner Self of All things, or the Holy Spirit, or the subconscious mind, or the *élan vital* according to the system under which he has been educated, but under whatever name he calls it, it seems to work, if he has the suggestible mind. He must form a concept of the self he intends to be, which is clear and not unreasonable, and he must have faith, or, in other words, he must feel that he really is this self. This faith, or feeling of reality, is induced in some cases by constantly holding the portrait before oneself, and assuring oneself that he is this which he contemplates. The sick man pictures himself as well. If he cannot make the transition at one leap he says, "Every day in every way I am getting better and better." This is the same principle with a slight adjustment.

For those afflicted with weakness or shyness or melancholy or any form of the tainted self the principle is the same. It is the old way of faith, followed by all the great religions and their modern adaptations, many of which teach a man to view himself as a child of God, immune to all evil. It is evident that the method has its limitations and there are, of course, cranks, who have pushed it to absurd lengths and made it ridiculous. But on the other hand the full power of the method has not yet been revealed, nor the vast resources of that creative power which is latent in life or in mind or in spirit and which waits to be summoned to perform its miracles.

CHAPTER X

TRANSFORMATION OF THE RADIATIVE TYPE

I. THE BAD MAN WHO IS GOOD

Hitherto, nothing has been said of men of that somewhat pugnacious and independent type that we have termed "intellectual radiative." Such men are not affected by any of the methods above described. They are not influenced by emotions, and it is impossible to convince them either that they are great sinners, or entirely good, when they have already formed a clear and balanced opinion of their own character. Bad men of this type are deliberately and determinedly bad. They form the class of criminals and outlaws, or else of the super-men who regard themselves as above law, and as possessing the right to plunder their fellow men at will. To influence them it is necessary to convince them that there is a type of life superior to that which they are leading, and that greater happiness can be attained by other methods. There are, of course, hardened criminals who can be reached by the Evangelical method, but these really belong to one of the other types, and are sub-men rather than super-men of the type of Cæsar Borgia.

There remains another class of which as yet no mention has been made, that of the men who are bad because they are good. In other words, they are regarded as bad by one group of people because they conform to the standards of another group. Where these standards are extremely divergent, as in the Fiji Islands, it creates the strange contradiction that the better they are, the worse they are: the more perfectly they conform to their own standards, the more wicked do they appear to those of another race. Among such men the most astonishing transformations have taken place. Their leaders, like most leaders, belong to the intellectual radiative type. In other words they are not swayed by the emotions or opinions of the crowd, but are governed by their intelligence and choose the course which seems to them most profitable or most admirable and put every energy into it. If another ideal is presented to them, and they are convinced that it is superior they have sufficient strength of character to change in all their attitudes and to adopt an entirely different pattern of behavior. A behavior pattern that has been perfected through centuries of development by men of another race under the influence of another religion can be grafted upon a person of this type in such fashion that sometimes it will produce its characteristic fruits more perfectly than when it has grown from its own root.

The races of the South Seas were highly intelligent and susceptible to emotions of the noblest type. They had been subjected through their religion to ideals terrible in their brutality, vulgarity, and ferocity. In Tahiti, Raiatea, and Rarotonga they practised human sacrifices, and when a king was installed and clothed in the red sash, it was necessary to sacrifice from three to seven persons to sanctify the choice. Every important act was ratified in human blood. There was a similar situation among the Aztecs in Mexico. No monarch could have been more kindly and courteous, more, in short, of a gentleman, than was Montezuma. He had the welfare of his people at heart and governed them with greater justice and intelligence than any Aztec ruler for centuries. Nevertheless, he felt it essential to appease the god of war with human sacrifices. The Spaniards were horrified on ascending the gigantic pyramid temples to find themselves in a shrine in front of the hideous, distorted idol, where walls and floor were covered with human blood, and the black-robed priests had their long, matted hair drenched with the blood of their victims. Hundreds of unfortune wretches were being fattened in coops in preparation for the hideous moment when they should be laid upon the altar and their hearts torn out while they were yet living. After the sacrifice, the people cooked and fed upon the limbs of the victims. In the South Seas as in Mexico a mere nod from the king sufficed to designate any individual for the sacrifice. It was of no use to try to escape. He would be followed to the ends of the earth and often all his family would be sacrificed with him.

By defeating their chiefs in battle the Spaniards convinced certain of the Aztecs that the gods whom they worshipped were powerless to defend them, and induced them to replace the hideous war god with the image of the Virgin Mary, and to promise to have done with human sacrifice. In this case the change was usually due to dissatisfaction with their own gods and anger against them. In the South Sea Islands the change seems to have come through the appeal of a higher ideal. It was never the result of force and in many cases it occurred entirely without the intervention of white men. John Williams in his thrilling autobiography describes the transformation at Raiatea.

The king, Tamatoa, was quite an extraordinary man. He was six feet eleven inches in height, and renowned everywhere as a warrior. He was worshipped as a god, and when human sacrifices were made, the eye of the victim was cut out and presented to him before the ceremony. He was addicted to the use of the intoxicating juice of the kava root, which had a most violent effect upon him. He would rush forth and seize a club and slaughter any man whom he chanced to meet. His aspect at such times was so terrifying that all fled from him filled with superstitious horror. Once, not finding a club, he struck the first person he met with his fist and knocked out the man's eye, shattering his own hand at the same time. Williams related that Tamatoa went with a band of warriors to Tahiti to reinstate Pomare as king. Here he first heard of Christianity. He and his followers decided to accept the new religion.

When they returned to Raiatea, a multitude was assembled on the sea beach to greet them. The priests were shouting a welcome in the name of the gods, and claiming the victims which they expected had been brought from the war to be sacrificed. As the chief's canoe approached the shore, his herald stood forth and shouted, "There are no victims. We are all praying people and have become worshippers of the true God." The king held a meeting of his people, told them of the conversion of his men, and invited the others to follow their example. About a third of the people accepted the invitation.

Soon after, Tamatoa became exceedingly ill, and one of the Christians proposed to destroy Oro, great national idol, and to set fire to the temple or marae, as it was thought the Christian God might be angry with them for not having done this. Summoning all their courage, a party proceeded to the great marae, took Oro from his seat, tore off his robes, and set fire to the sacred house. The heathen party were so exasperated that they determined to seize the Christians and burn them alive. The king made overtures of peace, but the invariable reply was, "There is no peace for god-burners."

The next morning the heathen party, with flying banners, the shout of the warriors, and the sound of the trumpet shell, advanced upon the affrighted Christians, while they, kneeling, prayed for the protection of God. One of the Christian chiefs volunteered to go forth with a small group and attack the hostile army. Before starting, the chief, who had accepted Christianity himself but a few days before, said, "Before you go, let us join in prayer." They all knelt and the king implored God to protect them, and then said, "Now go, and may the presence of Jesus go with you." They attacked the enemy, who, after a brief resistance, were completely defeated, and their chief together with many others was taken prisoner. They all expected to be slaughtered or burnt alive.

When the leader of the heathen was conducted, pale and trembling, before Tamatoa, he cried, "Am I to die?" The king answered, "Brother, cease to tremble. You are saved by Jesus." A feast was prepared and all the prisoners were invited to eat. They were unable to swallow their food, and one finally rose and said, "Had we conquered them, they would at this moment have been burning in the house we built for the purpose, but instead of injuring us, they have prepared for us this feast. Theirs is a religion of mercy. I want to unite myself to this people." The others were equally impressed, and every one of the heathen party knelt that very night and joined with the Christians in giving thanks to God. Then they destroyed every marae in Raiatea, so that in three days no vestige of idol worship remained in the island. This is a sample of what occurred in many of the other islands. It sometimes took a long time for the chiefs, who were stern and warlike men, to appreciate the Christian ideal, but when they did, they clamored for teachers to instruct them in the new way, and it was often impossible to find enough teachers to supply the need.

2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF SAMOA

Williams was the first Englishman to land at Samoa, and he came at a very opportune moment. The religion of these islands centred in a person known as Tamafainga, in whom their god was supposed to be incarnate. He was cruel, selfish, and vindictive, and kept the people in terror and suffering. Finally the people of a village where he was visiting revolted and killed him. It was at this moment, before a new Tamafainga had been appointed, that Williams arrived. He conferred with the king, Malietoa, who was deeply interested in the new religion, and who requested, after he had destroyed the murderers of Tamafainga, that teachers should be sent to the chiefs, and his people should be instructed in the new religion. There had been no human sacrifice or cannibalism in Samoa, but the country was decimated by ceaseless wars, and the acceptance of Christianity brought about a great change for the better, until foreign politics brought about a new condition of warfare.

It is interesting to note that almost the first question that Malietoa asked was as to the categories of right and wrong which we have shown to be the chief barriers limiting and characterizing the self. The word for "bad" or for "bad man" in Samoan is "sa," and Malietoa asked. "What things are 'sa' in your religion?" Mr. Williams then gave him a list of things which he felt would be easily recognized as wrong, such as cheating, lying, stealing, adultery, and warfare, and told him that there were other things which they would come to recognize as wrong when they understood the Christian teaching more perfectly. Malietoa still feared his own gods, and proposed that he himself should first become a Christian, and that his sons should wait for six weeks before making the change, in order that they might see if Malietoa was struck dead by the gods whom he had renounced. They declined to do this, however, and they all became Christians together, renouncing their ancient gods by eating the "etu" or totem which they worshipped. In

Malietoa's case this was an eel. His sons, belonging to their mother's family, had as their "etu" a fish called "anae." To partake of the "etu" meant breaking absolutely the chief barrier of right and wrong which had characterized the old self. They did not do it without fear and it was some days before they were convinced that the god thus eaten would not burn out their internal organs. In this way the limitations of the old self were overthrown, and a new self was constructed with different limiting barriers.

The change in most of the islands was a notable one. Some of them worshipped the war god Oro, represented by hideous images. Others worshipped various totems, and, as has been said, human sacrifice was quite general. Another terrible custom was that of infanticide. Custom required that when a woman married a man of inferior rank, from two to four of her children must be put to death to raise him to her rank. There were also other reasons which made the killing of children imperative. Some years after the people became Christians, a visitor refused to believe that women so kindly in character could have been guilty of such deeds. He inquired of the first three women he met how many children they had destroyed. With tears, the first confessed that she had killed nine, the second seven, and the third five. One was found who had killed sixteen children. Sometimes they were smothered, sometimes buried alive, and sometimes the joints were broken until the child died. These women who had become Christians felt the greatest horror for the sin which they had thus committed, and repented in great agony of soul. We have here, then, instances where a whole tribe has renounced an ideal of brutality and ferocity which involved all their attitudes, and was embodied in all their customs, and thus produced a self of a marked individual type. In place of this, they accepted the Christian self which had been developed by a different race, and which involved totally different attitudes and customs.

3. VERANI, THE FIJIAN CHIEF

We draw our illustrations from the South Sea Islands because it is here that we can best see the effect of a behavior pattern of the highest type when brought to bear upon men of a fine race and of high intelligence who have been trained under a pattern of the primitive and savage type. The conditions are similar to those under which our ancestors first came in contact with civilization. We are so used to a life in which all are brought up in accord with well-known and accepted patterns, that our psychology does not reckon with the phenomena of transformation produced when higher and hitherto unknown patterns are brought to bear. In the South Seas many of the individual transformations were most interesting and surprising.

In Fiji the strongest and ablest of the younger chiefs was named Verani. This is the Fijian word for France, and the name was given him because he had captured a French vessel and murdered the captain and all the crew. He was a man of the type we have called the intellectual-radiative, self-determined and strong in his opinions, and governed by intelligence rather than emotion. He was the chief friend of Thakombau, the king, and helped him in all his wars. He was responsible for more acts of bloodshed than any other chief.

On one occasion the chief of one village gave him some whale's teeth, which he received as pledge that he would kill the natives of another village. He promptly went forth and killed them. He was responsible for an act of brutal treachery. The people of Namena had revolted against the king. Verani arranged a mock revolt among his own people, induced the Namena people to join him, and when they were in his power, turned on them and massacred them all. Their bodies were taken to the king, and cooked and eaten.

Gradually he became convinced of the truth of Christianity, but he refused at first to become a Christian as he realized what a limitation it would put upon his warlike activities. He had learned to read and when he read the story of One who had suffered the cruellest torture and actually given his life to save and help others, he was greatly astonished and deeply stirred by this revelation of a new type of manhood. It was this which led him finally to ask permission from the king to become a Christian. The king knew that thus he would lose his best warrior and favorite companion, and told him he must wait. At length he decided to face the king's anger and took the step. All expected that the king would deal severely with him, but instead he said, "Did I not tell you we could not turn Verani? He is a man of one heart. When he was with us, he was fully one with us. Now he is a Christian, he is not to be moved."

Shortly after his conversion, a friend and brother-in-law of his was treacherously murdered in so atrocious a fashion that it was not only an outrage but a deadly insult to him and to his family. His widowed sister came to him and wildly urged him to avenge her or else to strangle her and free her from the burden of the insult. Although formerly of all men he had been the swiftest to avenge an insult, he now answered her: "I have become a Christian and the work of death is over." He remained loyal to the new ideal throughout his life, and his influence was dominant in bringing the ferocious customs of Fiji to an end.

Some years later, a revolt occurred in Levuka. Some people in the mountains, who were subject to Verani, were attacked by the king of Levuka, and in return they burnt the town of Levuka. The mountaineers then revolted from Verani, who had told them to disband, and the revolt spread until it seemed as if the island would be drenched in blood. Verani offered to go over himself to Levuka to win back the chief of the mountaineers to his allegiance. His friends implored him not to go, as they felt it was almost certain death. He said, however, that it was his duty to go and to stop the bloodshed and destruction that impended. With only his two brothers and four of his people, he accordingly landed at night at an uninhabited place and passed through the bush into the mountains. He found one of the chiefs, and won him over with the presentation of the sacred whale's teeth. The king of Levuka heard of his arrival, and sent secretly to the mountaineers and promised a great reward to any one who would kill Verani their chief. A brutal chief of inferior rank accepted the offer. The next morning as Verani and his party were on their way to visit another insurgent chief a shot was fired at him from the shutter of a temple he was passing. It missed, and seeing he was unarmed the man thus rushed at him with a club. Verani, who was a very powerful man, wrested the club from him. His friends urged him to defend himself, but he said: "I come as a messenger of peace," and threw the club away. The treacherous chief fired again as he stood defenseless. Wounded and refusing to lift a hand to strike back, he fell beneath the blows of the club.

So died the bravest chief of the Fijians, once the fiercest and most treacherous warrior of his people and the most perfect exemplar of their ideals. He died because under the influence of a higher ideal he had become a different person, one who, instead of seeking vengeance for treachery, was willing to lay down his life for the welfare of his people. His transformation was not due to suggestion or emotion. It came as the result of the determination of the strong man to accept a higher and better ideal, and to live by it faithfully and loyally.

4. TRIBAL AND RACIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

We have noted how, in the South Seas, whole tribes under the leadership of their chiefs went over to another religion, and adopted a new type of self which transformed them in all their attitudes and relationships. No transformation was more remarkable than that of the Fiji Islands. People of these islands had been the terror of all navigators of the South Seas, who knew that to be wrecked there meant certain death, and that every victim would be eaten by the savages. The whole nation adopted Christianity, and few races can be found among whom exists a more sincere devotion to the Christian ideal. When I visited the islands, they had received news that certain other men who had been sent as missionaries to New Guinea, to the cannibal tribes there, had been killed and eaten. Undeterred by this terrible news, another party was just setting forth to lay down their lives if need be in the effort to teach these savage peoples the religion of love.

In similar fashion the whole people of Uganda renounced their old religion and became Christians. They also were notorious for the brutal cruelty of their chiefs, and for sacrifices in which thousands of innocent victims were mercilessly butchered. When there is such a wholesale transformation, it is unreasonable to expect that all the people will express the Christian ideal in its perfection, yet, although one finds many individuals who avail themselves of the milder government in order to cheat and defraud, on the whole the change is sufficiently amazing.

It cannot be merely a chance that human sacrifice should have been so general among warrior nations all over the world, in the South Seas, in Mexico, in Africa, and among our Nordic ancestors. It is probably true that in order to control warriors of so fierce a type it was necessary to create a horror which could only be produced by the shedding of blood. The worship of a god whose altar must be drenched with the blood of human victims kept them obedient to the laws and ruler whom that god supported, when otherwise there would have been continual chaos and rebellion. This religion of blood created an artificial self with qualities of abnormal and unnatural ferocity. Although the people were dominated by the fear and horror emanating from the god of blood, underneath there must have been a general revolt against this self which had been forced upon them. Consequently, when a religion of peace and love was presented, it appealed to them as a higher ideal. They were still held to the old worship by fear, and it was only when some strong leader of the radiative type arose who accepted the new ideal and defied the ancient gods, that the change was possible. We have seen it repeated many times in the history of the world.

Often these tribal or national transformations were due to political motives, as in the case of Constantine. Sometimes they were due to the hope that, by changing, the convert would secure more powerful mana. This was the case with Clovis, who adopted Christianity on the eve of his great battle, hoping for the support of Christ. Sometimes the transformation was due to force, as when Charlemagne compelled the leaders of the Saxons to become Christians.

In all such cases the transformation is outward, and does not involve a real change of the inner self. The group adopts a new god in the expectation that they will gain more from his favor than from that of their old gods. They conform outwardly to new standards of right and wrong, but this means merely a change in the taboos that they obey, and not a transformation from a cruel and selfish life to one of love, or from a narrow, weak self to an enlarged self. As we have noted, the Christian warrior could often be distinguished with difficulty from his pagan opponents, save that he bore the banner of the Cross.

In certain cases, however, the transformation, like that described in the South Seas, seems to have been an inward one due to the fact that the leaders of the people were dissatisfied or disgusted with the old ideal, and found in that of Christianity something nobler and higher. Some such effect was produced by the missionaries among the Germans and Goths. The conversion of the English seems to have been closely similar to that of Tamatoa, and we have record of the old priest who took his spear in hand and shattered the idol, and accepted the new faith.

In these cases where a nation changed its religion, and a new national type was thus created, it was made possible because the majority of the people were of the receptive type. The chief changed, and they followed. To them the change meant merely that they received a new god who was said to be more powerful than their ancient deities. It was easy to transfer the old feelings of horror, which kept them from breaking the taboos, to the new conception of miasma, and this usually involved the acceptance of new laws in place of the old. In the South Seas the converted chiefs drew up a complete code of laws in conformity with their new ideals. When our ancestors were converted to Christianity, for the mass of the people it meant merely that they received Jehovah and Christ as gods in place of Oden and Thor. The fear of Hell became a check upon them in place of the dread of disaster and sickness sent by the gods upon the disobedient. Instead of performing sacrifices, they attended mass. In place of their old taboos, there were new ones such as that against the eating of meat on Friday. So far the change was merely an outward one. It was, however, impossible to accept Christianity without some real effect due to the inward character of the religion, and the taboo upon bloodshed and revenge, when it was enforced, produced a real change in the character of the people. We have been speaking of the mass of the people who were of the emotional receptive type. Those of them who were notably suggestible, and who came under the influence of the right type of missionary or monk, received the enlarged self, and achieved a type of saintship. With them, of course, the transformation was inward and revolutionary.

It was the men of the radiative type for whom, and through whom, the change was really significant. For certain of these the change was not a matter of outward observances, nor an effort to secure more powerful mana, nor yet a matter of politics. Those who were of the emotional radiative type were roused to a real devotion to Christ by the story of his sacrifice, and those who were governed more by intelligence appreciated the new ideal of a religion of love, and its superiority to the old religion of blood, and gave themselves and all their energies to following this new ideal. For such men it was a real and inward transformation.

In the history of the world the religions of love and brotherhood have conquered the religions of blood. They have the power to create a real social self in place of the artificial social self which was the product of the old religion. The blood religions by fear kept men from giving full play to their selfish instincts and passions, and thus disrupting society, but they did not change these desires, and the inward self remained the same, save that it was dominated by fear. The religions of love created in men a feeling of brotherhood. They awakened new emotions, and made possible a higher happiness which came not from self-indulgence, but from self-mastery; not from possessing things, but from the enjoyment of their beauty and significance; not from material relationships with people, but from a spiritual and intellectual relationship; not from lust, but from love and friendship; and finally not from enlarging the self by means of outward possessions, but rather by inward development and inspiration; not by wealth in the hand, but by God in the heart.

Three religions have overrun the greater part of the world, and conquered the old religions of blood. In the East, Buddhism accomplished what Christianty has done in the West. We are told how the Emperor Asoka turned at last in horror from the scenes of carnage and suffering and desolation that surrounded him after the campaign which subjected South India, and swore that never again would he cause such suffering to mankind. He had been instructed in the ideals of Buddhism, and became a Buddhist, ruling his great empire on the principle that to do good to every living thing was the first law. He made the Buddhist laws of kindness the laws of his realm, and he conquered Ceylon, not by force of arms, but by the power of the truth and of brotherhood, sending thither an expedition headed by his brother Mahendra, and a number of the greatest Buddhist teachers. The religion of kindness and brotherhood spread over the whole of the East. Later it was overwhelmed by a reaction toward earlier forms, and lost its vitality. In Siam in 1840 the king, when erecting a new gateway, followed the old custom of slaying three men and placing their bodies beneath each post. When his priests heard the Christian teaching, they said, "That is what our religion teaches, but what we do not practice."

The Mohammedan religion was not a religion of love, though it cultivated brotherhood among its members. It dominated the tribes of Africa and Asia by force, and compelled them to become converts. It did not seek to do away with the warrior self, but rather to develop it, and its power lay in cultivating enthusiasm rather than fear as its motive force.

5. THE GRAFTING OF A HIGHER SELF. TRANSFORMATION OF THE STRONG MAN

In the West Christianity conquered the primitive tribes, as has been said, producing in the mass of the people merely an outward change, but creating in the strong men and leaders a real transformation and a higher type of self. We have shown that it has the power completely to change the self, but that it must be done by a method adapted to the type of man whom it approaches. Men of the intellectual radiative type, who are capable of appreciating a high ideal, are those who, when converted, produce the finest type of man and make Christianity a real power.

My interest in the subject of character transformation led me to visit the least civilized islands of the South Seas because I felt that there, as already suggested, it was still possible to observe the reaction of a savage though intelligent race, to a standard of the highest type, hitherto unknown to them. In the island of New Britain, near New Guinea, I made the acquaintance of a chief named To Bobo, whose case I should like to describe in bringing this chapter to an end. To Bobo was noted as the cruelest and most unscrupulous of all the native chiefs. He had robbed and plundered those about him, and had avenged insults in the customary fashion by slaying his enemy and giving a feast at which the flesh of his foe was served to his friends. Once five men in the neighboring island, Matupi, had insulted him, and he picked five black stones, and swore that with each stone he would kill one of these men and then eat his flesh. He attacked the island, slaughtered many of the people, and fulfilled his threat.

The missionaries worked long and in vain to influence him. Finally he became interested. He determined to learn to read, and the story of Christ took vital hold upon him. He requested two men as his teachers, and kept them busy day and night, turning to one when the other was exhausted. At length he decided to become a Christian, and soon after this change returned to Matupi to tell the people there the new truth he had discovered. A crowd assembled, and he began by saying, "Long ago I came here and brought with me five black stones with every stone to kill a man. To-day I bring with me five white stones, but the stones I bring will not kill but make alive." He then read them five texts which he had selected.

He went on to say, "When I was a young man, I thought, 'What is it to be great? What is it to be happy?' and I said, 'It is to have more diwarra (shell money) than any other men. With that I could buy power and whatever I wish,' and so I attacked those about me, and plundered and cheated men until I had more diwarra than any other chief. But did it make me happy? See, there is a dog with a fish bone. He tries to swallow it. It sticks in his throat. So it was with me. It stuck in my throat. And then I thought that to be happy meant self-indulgence, and I stole the wives of other chiefs, and did as I wished, but it was like the dog with the bone. It stuck in my throat.

"And then I saw how after an expedition the chiefs sat around the camp-fire and told stories, and the man who told of the cruelest deeds and the greatest slaughter was called the great chief, and I said, 'It is this that makes a man great and happy.' And I did deeds more fierce and cruel than any man, and when I spoke, they all sat about and listened open-mouthed; but was I happy?

It was like the dog with the bone. And then the white-man came and told me of the lotu, and of the love of To Jesu, and I became a Christian. I gave back all the diwarra I had taken from others. Now I am only a poor man. I have nothing but my palm-leaf bag with food for the day, and I go from place to place and tell the chiefs whom formerly I fought, of the love of To Jesu. I am no longer a big chief but I have found what it is to be happy."

He risked his life repeatedly by going to men who were his mortal enemies to give his message. Here was a man of ambition, determined to find out what in life was worthwhile, and in what greatness and happiness consisted. Like many another he sought them in wealth, in self-indulgence and in fame. He tried the ideals of his own tribe and found them wanting. When he was convinced that the way of service and love was better, he threw himself into its pursuit with the same thoroughness he had shown as a leader in cruelty and ferocity.

This transformation was no mere surface change, but one which affected the inner nature. To Bobo was appointed a district judge by the German government when it took over New Britain. He administered the affairs of his section with justice, and took pride in maintaining the dignity of his court. A disreputable white man, who was a renegade priest, had tried to carry off a woman in the section, and the case came before To Bobo. The white man ridiculed him and insulted him, calling him the vilest names possible in the language, and broke up the session of the court. To Bobo then resigned his office, saying to the German judge that he had been unable to maintain the dignity of his court and that he felt he was unworthy to continue as judge. The German administrator was indignant, arrested the white man, and ordered that he should be bastinadoed. To Bobo heard of this, and walked down the five miles from his place to the office of the administrator and begged that the white man might not receive this terrible punishment. "I only wish that he should be prevented from interfering with the dignity of my court," he said, "and I beg you not to give him this punishment." Here was a man who, when insulted, had been accustomed to slaughter his traducers and feed upon their flesh. There are perhaps few Christians in this country who, if a man insulted them in the performance of their rightful duty, would walk five miles to make sure that he was not too severely punished. It is easy to copy the superficial forms of Christianity but such an act is not an outward attitude but the expression of the inner self and of a self that is fundamentally Christian in character, and which reacts in quite the opposite way from that of the savage.

In other respects also he showed a transformation from the aims and characteristics of the old self to a self that conformed more closely to the primitive Christian standard than that acquired by most Christians of our day. His chief characteristic had been an ambition to be a great chief and to be honored as such, and even in this respect he was transformed. He came one day to the house of the missionary, Mr. Chambers, and asked if he could buy the old boat of the mission. He said that in travelling from village to village to tell the chiefs of the new truth he had found, the boat would be a great convenience, and Mr. Chambers finally let him have the boat for a nominal sum. Sometime later he again called upon Mr. Chambers. His face was troubled and he said, "Mr. Chambers, I want you to take back your boat." "Why, did you find that she leaks?" asked Mr. Chambers. "No, it is a fine boat," he said. "Perhaps you would like the money back?" said Mr. Chambers. "No," said To Bobo, "I want you to keep the money and I would gladly give much more in token of all I have received from you." "But," said Mr. Chambers, "I can't take the boat and the money both. They might put me in prison for that!" The old chief did not smile. "Please take back the boat," he said again. When Mr. Chambers again inquired his reason, he remained silent. After persistent questioning at last he said: "You know, in the old days I wanted to be a big chief, and did all that I could to make men honor me. Now, when I go along the shore from village to village and my men row me in the boat, I hear the natives in their canoes say, 'Look, there goes To Bobo! He has got a white man's boat!' and I feel, 'Ah ha! I am a big chief! They all look at me and give me honor!'" His tone changed, and his voice sank to deep earnestness. "Mr. Chambers," he said, "I don't want that. I am through with that. I don't want to be a big chief. I want only to be a poor man, with nothing but my palm-leaf bag on my shoulder, going from village to village to tell the people of the love of To Jesu. Won't you take back your boat?"

By a certain straightforward simplicity he had accepted and realized the primitive Christian self which many leaders in the faith fail to attain. The details of this story have been given to show how it is possible to graft a self of the highest type, which it has taken ages to develop, and which has been produced by another race and religion, upon a man who of all others would seem to be the least capable of receiving it, and the most antagonistic to it. This is another example of the fact that when a man is bad because he is good, or because he conforms to the standards of a different tribe, then the worse he is, and the stronger is his adherence to the old ideal, so much the better will he become when he adopts the new standard.

We have then covered the various types of transformation of the self, from those which are the transitions of normal growth to the more radical changes which involve a transformation of the inner self. With men of the suggestible type this inner change can be accomplished by giving them a new concept of themselves or by convincing them that some spirit or new self has taken possession of them. But just as remarkable are the cases just described of strong men of the radiative type, who, seeing a new ideal, adopt it, and gradually shape themselves into conformity with it.

6. CONFLICTING SELVES

In considering the possibility of change of personality we come upon certain individuals who are somewhat of a puzzle because their personality seems to be changing all the time. It has so many phases that it is hard to tell which is the true person. It seems as if there were resident in one person a number of conflicting selves or behavior patterns that appear upon different occasions. Some of these apparently are merely a response to the group that environs, as the chameleon changes his hue to correspond with his background. Others, however, are more deep-seated and create a real conflict in the personality. Sometimes these selves are herditary and there is a conflict between two racial patterns which are radically different in standards and in feelings, both of which are inherited by the same man. This occurs in certain half castes. In many such there is a tragic conflict between the standards and customs of the father and those of the mother. Sometimes this results in a disregard of all standards, but more often the victim finds himself pulled now this way and now that, by conflicting duties and impulses.

In India it is said that God made the white man and the black man and made them very good, but Tommy made the Eurasian and made him very bad. The standard of the Hindu is, of course, vastly different from that of the British, and its duties and prohibitions are enforced by a very powerful dread or horror of transgression. It is evident that these traditions and feelings, communicated through his mother, must crop out at times in the life of the Eurasian and that he would find himself blocked in some act and dominated by the old traditional horror, which his British self would later throw off and regard as an absurd superstition. His self is thus subject to two divergent standards with different classifications of the things that must be done and that must not be done, and both are reinforced by strong feelings. A consciousness thus divided against itself is subject to great confusion and unhappiness. One sees the same thing in negro half castes, only here it is not so much a conflict between racial standards as between the primitive impulses of the savage, and the standardized self of the white man.

Something of this sort occurs in all cases of mixed inheritance. There are two selves, often completely standardized, that are struggling for mastery. One sees it in the children of foreigners in America, such as the Russian Jews, where the traditional self has its strict code of things that must not be done, such as eating meat and milk together, or lighting a fire or writing on the Sabbath, and an equally thorough code of the observances that must be kept,—such as the ritual of the Passover, the Feast of Booths, and Day of Atonement. Over against all this is the new American self which the child acquires at school and which regards all these things as absurd superstitions. In a sensitive child this situation causes great agony.

In a recent novel, "Daisy and Daphne," Rose Macaulay has described a similar conflict in a girl who was the illegitimate daughter of an aristocrat and a middle-class woman. The two selves are described at first as separate persons,—Daphne, cool, clear-headed, fearless, nonchalant, with a high sense of honor, Daisy, timorous, petty, full of deceit, dominated by fears and shame. Now one holds the field and now another, and it is only toward the end that the author reveals them to be the same person. Here there is a conflict both of standard and temperament which results in misery and disaster. In every one there is perhaps something of this conflict of inherited traditions and temperaments, and happiness can be achieved only by some sort of unification or integration of the conflicting selves.

Literature and religion are filled with the description of the conflict between two selves, which we might describe as the primitive and the conventional selves, a battle which goes on in nearly every man. There is the primitive self with its passions and desires, its rage and its fears, and over against it the standardized pattern of the race, with its classification of things that must not be done and that must be done,—and its minute regulation of behavior and speech. The man really *is* both of these selves. At times, with the primitive self, he rages against the confining barrier of morals and customs, and again he feels the self that enforces this standard to be his true self and the passion and desire that assail him seem to be the temptations of an evil spirit from without and not a true part of him. Paul describes this conflict between the flesh and the spirit, or between lust and law, and the utter wretchedness of the man who is torn by this struggle. "What I would that do I not, but what I hate, that do I. . . . Now then it is no more I that do it but sin that dwelleth in me. . . . For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."

Here he identifies himself with the standardized self and regards the primitive self as an enemy even when it is dominant. It is this conflict that Stevenson has dramatized in the story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. It is inevitable that there should be in every person some vestige of this conflict for we are not so civilized yet that the primitive self and its desires and passions do not rebel against the standardized self that society has created and put over them, while the standardized self feels its superiority and endeavors to treat the primitive self as an outsider. It is, of course, essential to reduce such a self to unity. In another chapter we have endeavored to show the Christian method of doing this by creating a new self. This has always been one of the functions of religion and the methods adopted have been various.

There is another kind of conflict in the self due to the presence of two or more selves formed by different groups under different circumstances. This is more than the chameleon reaction which leads a man to adapt himself to his environment. He can do this superficially and still retain his old self. He can act a part and pretend to be like the men about him when he knows he is not. There are cases, however, where quite a different self appears when he is with a certain group and he feels that he really is another person. Some of these selves are transitional. We have noted in the development of the boy how the "gang self" supplants the "mother's boy" and is in turn replaced by the "adolescent self." These selves often overlap, and a boy is conscious of being both of them at the same time. He is caused much unhappiness by the conflict between the mother's boy and the gang self. The conflict of transitional self rectifies itself in time, for one is outgrown and the other becomes dominant.

Selves which grow up later in life cannot be disposed of so easily. Many men have duties which call them into different spheres and among groups which have quite different standards.

A man may serve on the vestry of a church and be vitally interested in its work and be one to whom church members look up as setting a standard of Christian character. At the same time he may belong to a group of financiers in Wall Street whose standards are that power makes right, and the weak must go to the wall. He may also have his stables and be intimate with a racing crowd of whose lives gambling and philandering is an essential part, and who regard with contempt any one who is bound by the standards of the church. He may also play a part in politics and be associated with men of the common people who despise a man who is "high hat" and who admire a "regular fellow" who will share in alcoholic hilarity, and tell "he man" stories with his feet on the table. If he is of the receptive type he may sincerely become a part of each group, maintaining its standard when he is with its members, with the consciousness that he really *is* a church member, or a financier, or a politician, or whichever he may be at the moment. He may not realize that these standards conflict, that the church members would be horrified at his behavior in the other groups, that the bankers of Wall Street would lose confidence if they saw his enthusiasm for gambling, or knew the political deals in which he was involved, and that the ladies who dine with him at the Club would shun him if they saw his behavior with the politicians, and that the latter would be suspicious of him if they knew his church relations. It is only when the members of one group discover him with another group and acting by their standards that their attitude and their comments cause him to feel that he is a hypocrite and a deceiver. Up to that time he may have been perfectly sincere in his behavior with each group. With them he feels that he really is one of them,—a man with the same standard as their own. When he is brought face to face with his other self he then realizes its utter incongruity. When he is found kneeling in church by a race-track crony, or overheard by the senior warden when he is telling a risqué story to his political henchmen, he is ashamed of himself. He is conscious that he is violating the standard of the onlooker and that he is regarded with disapprobation.

Such a situation produces a strange phenomenon of consciousness. It seems as if a witness from another group awakened in him the self belonging to that group, or the group pattern, and with it a horror at the behavior of the first self. He might defy the opinion of others but when it is his own self that is horrified at what this other self is doing, he is caught in a position of discomfort and unhappiness from which he cannot escape. One self has a standard by which the other is a disgraceful offender. He feels mortified and ashamed of himself. It is due to the fact that one self has been summoned into the presence of the other. So long as the various selves never met and each appeared only in his own milieu they were all quite self-satisfied and sincere in their happiness. When they were compelled to face one another, the incongruity appeared, and with it great unhappiness and a sense of hypocrisy. This seems perhaps a grotesque description, but any one who has had the experience will recognize its truth. After such an experience if a man is to hold his self-respect, he must reduce his self to a consistent unity. He must choose which self he is to be, and he must eliminate the incongruous elements.

It is here again that religion has its opportunity in this dissatisfaction of the man with himself, to induce him to accept an entirely new self, and conversion frequently occurs as the solution of such a situation. In order to escape from the disapprobation of the various groups he has offended, a man is glad to make an entirely new start, and to make it generally known, that he has acquired a new and different self from any that he had before. There are, however, many persons whose various selves, though different, are not sufficiently incongruous to cause discomfort and shame, and others who have not been brought to any crisis in which one self was brought face to face with another in such fashion as to awaken self disgust, and such persons succeed in maintaining a multiple self, and in living in accordance with a variety of standards. Every man has many different sides and it is unfortunate that consistency should require him to eliminate those which are incongruous with the self he has chosen. Such, however, seems to be the wisest course and that which produces most happiness in the end. We can call to mind certain men who by hanging on to divergent elements in their nature and by maintaining conflicting standards, have lost all the confidence of their friends and of the public.

CHAPTER XI

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE SELF

I. QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ENLARGEMENT

The average person may be somewhat bored with the foregoing discussion of the variety of behavior patterns that can be produced in mortal man, but he cannot fail to be interested in the problem of transforming or enlarging his own personality and increasing the range of its consciousness.

We have shown by what methods the enlarged self was produced by religion and how it bestowed the consciousness of added powers and flooded the soul with joy and love. It was usually effective with persons of the receptive suggestible type. Sometimes we may suspect that the added powers were more imaginary than real. Even so the illusion brought enough happiness to make it worth while and in many cases there was a radical change in the inner life, if one can judge at all of the inner workings of another man. There was a reconditioning of all the old reactions and the old desires lost their power, the man became capable of wider vision and acquired a new understanding of life. Effective as the method once was, in the present age it seems to be discredited among intellectuals as modern thought has upset the dynamics of the Victorian age. At any rate it seldom produces the phenomena we have described. We see no more of the great revivals that swept the country like a whirlwind. Our beliefs have changed; our emotions are no longer conditioned by the same key thoughts. The old miasma system is losing its power and can no longer produce a tainted self of the type we have described.

It is natural, then, to ask what other methods exist of producing the enlarged self. Certain individuals seem to be born with a self of this sort and others acquire it, they know not how. Walt Whitman seems to have been constantly conscious of the larger self which was expressing itself in and through him, and which opened to him wider visions and higher powers. The men whom we call geniuses seem to have this enlarged self. They feel a tide of life flooding in upon them from beyond themselves. They see visions and hear melodies that come from they know not where. They feel themselves in touch with a larger life than their own. Many of them, like Thackeray and Stevenson, have described how this tide of inspiration would sweep in upon them and the story with which they were struggling would suddenly begin to write itself, in seeming independence of their mental efforts.

Certain artists and writers have told me that their work was always worthless and commonplace until they attained this consciousness. It was of no use to struggle and strain to write at other times for the work had to be re-done. Suddenly the gates would open and the visions and the power would come. Some such men seem to have no theory about it. They say it merely comes at by which they attempt to relax the tension of the mind and make it receptive. When it is thus relaxed the inspiration comes. Others select some noble thought or majestic scene and fix the mind upon it until they are swept into the higher consciousness. Any one who reads the words of men of genius or who talks with them must be struck by their account of this enlarged self which takes possession of them at times and gives them vision and power of which ordinary mortals are incapable.

There are also many instances of ordinary individuals who in some moment of dire emergency—some shipwreck, earthquake or disaster—were suddenly lifted into a higher consciousness which gave them powers far beyond their normal abilities. I can record several such instances and I imagine some such are known to every reader.

Even if such qualitative enlargement should prove beyond our reach there is an enlargement of the self which might be termed quantitative rather than qualitative, and which is open to every man. The whole process of growth and education may be regarded as an attempt at quantitative enlargement of the self. Psychologists tell us that when a man wears a tall hat, he feels that he has acquired added height and dignity. When he carries a stick in his hand, he enlarges his reach, and to a certain extent his personality projects itself to the end of the stick so that he feels able to touch and reach objects otherwise beyond his control. Thus every implement of which a man possesses himself involves an enlargement of his self, and enables him to act upon the material world more powerfully or at a greater distance. With a bow and arrow in his hand, or a rifle at his shoulder, he is able to make himself felt over a much wider area than without them.

2. ANNEXATION AND INTENSIFICATION

Whatever objects come into his possession also serve to enlarge quantitatively the self of a man. His house and land, his furniture, and utensils, his money and wealth, all come to be identified with his self. Any one who touches your house or scratches your furniture, or speaks slightingly of your paintings, hurts you, for these things are a vital part of your self. You are as proud of the beauty of the house you have built as you are of your personal appearance. We might term this the enlargement of the self by annexation. A man annexes various objects of the material world and they come to be accepted as a part of himself.

The self is enlarged in a more significant way by means of clothing. Anatole France has described in an amusing way the transformation effected in the first woman by the possession of a piece of cloth which she draped about her person. The tribal self finds its expression through various types of costume in such fashion that the adoption of the costume is often regarded as equivalent to the acceptance of the tribal self. In Mediæval society nearly every class had its appropriate costume and this costume when adopted assisted a man to acquire the class consciousness. When the knight received his spurs and belt he gained with them the consciousness of added powers and dignity. When given the star which marks the police force, I have known a man to say, "I feel strong enough now to tackle anybody." The badge was to him a symbol of added powers with which his personality was clothed, and he was thus made conscious of an enlarged self. In Mediæval days each lord had his livery, and any man who assumed that costume became by that act a part of the self of his master. Any one who insulted him, insulted his lord; any blow which he struck was struck by his lord. To-day costume is not so important as a symbolism. It is rather used as an intensification of the personality. Every woman tries to dress herself in such a fashion as will enhance her natural attractions and increase her charm. Clad in a plain Mother Hubbard, she would feel she had lost at least half her personality. A costume which is becoming is one which sets off the natural advantages of a person and emphasizes her fine qualities. It adds dignity and beauty to the self. Every one is familiar with Carlyle's statement that to deprive a man of his clothes robs him of the better part of his personality and influence. A woman is often conscious of quite a different self when dressed in red than when wearing black.

Keyserling has pointed out the advantages of a masquerade in assisting a person to develop certain suppressed elements of the personality. A man who has always felt within him something of the pirate self, and has been forced to lead a life suppressed by convention, may find a certain relief in masquerading as a pirate and expressing that side of the self which has been so long suppressed. Mention has already been made of the fact that children enjoy dressing up, and thus trying out various potential selves which attract them. In general it may be said that by means of clothing a man can enlarge and give outward expression and content to the self which he desires to emphasize. A change from golf trousers to evening dress assists him in assuming the ceremonial demeanor appropriate to stately functions, and when he has put on "chaps" and a five-gallon hat he feels he has entered the free life of the cowboy. We may then say that by means of costume we may gain an enlargement of the self through intensification or, in other words, through emphasizing those qualities and characteristics which the person desires to make prominent.

3. EXPANSION BY INTEREST AND IRRADIATION

It is by means of education that most of us attempt to enlarge our powers and influence. With each new subject our consciousness expands into a new field. The process resembles the construction of a vast system of telephone wires by means of which the self can project itself to the ends of the earth, and by means of which it can thrill responsively to events on the other side of the world. Whatever a man is interested in, becomes to a certain extent a part of himself. He feels for it and in it. When you take up the study of history, your consciousness travels back over the centuries, and forms connection with the great men of the past. From Caesar to Alexander, from Buddha and Mohammed, from Socrates and Plato, you gain certain new elements of personality and learn to feel with them as they felt in the battles and struggles of their day.

As you study botany, you reach out to all that is beautiful in the flowers that bloom all over the world, from the wild flowers of the Western plain to the orchids of Borneo. Each beautiful opening blossom contributes something to your enjoyment, and to your understanding of nature. The same is true of geology and biology and physics, which lead your interest into the inmost secrets of the heart of nature. Astronomy takes you far out beyond the bounds of this world until your puny human self begins to grasp in some measure the flaming suns and the rolling planets far out through space to the farthest limits of the universe. Thus on these delicate wires of human interest which are constructed by the process of education the consciousness expands throughout the whole extent of time and space. You become alive with a thrilling receptiveness to things that happened in the age of Pericles, to the inmost evolutions in the invisible heart of the atom, to the shaping of new worlds in the farthest confines of space. Wherever the interest of a man goes, to that point his self extends by this strong process of expansion.

More vital than the enlargement by interest is that which occurs through influence. The administrator of a great railroad can make his decisions felt over vast continental areas and can affect the happiness and well-being of thousands of his fellow men. This sense of power is one of the most important elements in the enlargement of the self, and brings with it a joy of its own.

It is, in fact, the chief aim of many men thus to extend their influence until as much of the world as possible is subject to their domination, or, at least, sensitive to their wishes. Every organization which affords to a man, whose life is otherwise restricted, the opportunity of reaching out to the farthest ends of the world and bringing his influence to bear, is of great value, and may bring great happiness to those who participate in it. The lonely women who contribute a small sum to foreign missions are thus enabled to reach out into other hemispheres and feel that the results of their labor are influencing for good and happiness the lives of men and women far away. All the great organizations of business and politics and of the church enable men to bring their influence to bear in this fashion over wide areas and upon thousands of their fellow men. We might term this enlargement of the self through irradiation. The purpose and will of one man is thus irradiated and brought to bear upon wide areas of which otherwise he would never have heard.

4. PROJECTION OF THE SELF

Perhaps the most satisfactory and normal way in which one can enlarge the self and its powers is by acting upon the material world. It is open to any human being, no matter how limited his life, to enjoy something of the exhilaration of the great creator, as he projects himself and his ideas into the material world and transforms it. Your spirit, my spirit, can incarnate itself in material forms. Here is a vast world of potter's clay into which one can breathe the breath of life, whose chaos can be shaped by my visions into forms of beauty. In your mind you dream a certain dream. Then you go to work in the material world and clothe that dream in the forms of reality until what had been a mere thought, ethereal and intangible, becomes solid material substance. In this way great men are continually incarnating their spirits and giving reality to their dreams.

This, in fact, is the way in which the material world progresses. The ideas and plans of man are shaping its chaotic substance into beautiful and permanent forms until that which was meaningless confusion becomes the expression of thought and of feeling. Thus the whole material world is being charged with spirit. For the men who accomplish this it naturally means a vast enlargement of their selves. They see that which had been a mere thought take form and extend itself in solid material shapes which remain the expression and extension of their personality. A man enters a dreary and desolate wilderness. In his mind is a vision of beauty and fertility. He sees what it might become. He goes to work and blasts out the rocks and stumps, and clears the ground, and drains the swamps, and plants beautiful trees. When the ground is prepared, he builds a noble edifice, graceful in form, and perfect in proportion. He surrounds it with blossoming shrubs and gardens of roses. He creates sparkling fountains in pools which reflect columns of marble. He builds lawns and terraces shadowed by oaks. He plants fields of golden grain, and his cattle feed in green pastures. All this world with which he is surrounded is really his own thought projected into the material world. It is his spirit incarnated in the forms of reality. When you look upon it, you see his self, and you are conscious that it is a part of him, and a very real part.

So the architect dreams of a great cathedral. Gradually it takes shape in his thought. Then he goes to work. Huge blocks of stone are hewn and chiselled into form, and rise toward the sky in vast columns. Shaped by his dream these stones spread out in stately groined arches. Growing as do the trees of the forest, one rough stone after another takes form until the columned aisles lead up to chancel and apse, and what was rough and shapeless rock becomes tracery exquisite in its delicacy. The whole is illumined by soft light streaming through jewelled windows. Here again is a part of the man's self which was mere invisible thought, and now is become solid reality.

The same is true of music. Some genius hears with the ear of the mind a melody that seems to come out of mystery, like the voice of some celestial choir. He sits down and plays it. It becomes an external reality that other ears can hear. It is caught in the mesh of material symbols as a singing bird might be caught in the net of the fowler. Thenceforward, whenever they wish it, men can hear this melody, which is really a revelation of the artist's inmost self.

The same holds true in painting, sculpture, literature. The vision and thoughts of a man are given form. The feelings in his soul find expression and become incarnate in the printed page, and through these external forms his inner self reaches out and touches the heart of thousands. This projection of the self is one of the greatest powers of humanity. The ideas and dreams may be there in the mind, but when they take outward form they influence thousands and transform the world. There is perhaps no greater joy than that which a man finds in thus giving external form to the thoughts and dreams that he finds within him. All about us in the world of to-day we see the selves of great men of the past incarnated and given permanent form. Thus little by little the whole material world is acquiring significance and beauty.

5. ENLARGEMENT BY ILLUMINATION AND INTEGRATION OF SELVES

The type of the enlargement which perhaps brings the most happiness is that which is acquired through the response of a kindred soul. There are times when one seems to stand alone in a dark and formless world. One seeks to penetrate its meaning by the light of intelligence, which plays upon the material world like a searchlight, investigating it and seeking to understand. Here and there it lights up some dark corner until it seems to have some meaning. At best this is cold comfort. If that were all life would be desolate enough. But now and then out of the darkness there seems to come a real response. It comes from some human soul that sends an answering gleam of light. Each person that responds creates a luminous spot in the darkness. If we think of a map of the country spread out before us, it is at first colorless and dark. Then as the eye falls upon some little village one is conscious that that spot is not dead and meaningless but alive and glowing. An old friend lives there. Yonder town gleams forth in the dreary expanse as we recognize the dwelling of a boyhood companion. The surface of the earth seems dark and empty save where it is illumined by the presence of our friends and acquaintances. In the great city some streets seem luminous and radiate a friendly presence. The numbers where our friends reside seem to stand out in a cheery radiance. Far across the world, in China and India, there are sparks of light sent back by old comrades. The empty expanse of the world is transformed because of these spots made warm and bright by friendship. Something goes out from us to them, something of warmth and light flashes back to us again. Even a picture post-card from Khartoum or Srinagar seems to give these places a new and vivid reality. With all these personal contacts the self is no longer lonely and shut up in darkness, but illumined by a thousand answering lights, each of which seems to add its quota of strength and happiness.

There is a reality in this sort of enlargement of the self that is lacking in those which depend upon mere things. It may be as philosophers teach, that the material world is all illusion, that the self produced by annexing houses and lands and wealth will crumble and break into fragments as these things are lost or disappear. The beauties of the material world that the mind has grasped with the tentacles of its desire may fade and dissolve; the heavens may be rolled up as a scroll; the sun and moon swallowed up in final nothingness, and yet we feel that still in the darkness we shall find those answering sparks, the spirits of those we have known, and who have sent back to us so often an answering gleam. The self that is thus enlarged by friendship will not be a lonely, shrivelled point in black nothingness, but a gleaming light that pulses and throbs as it reflects the answering light of a thousand other souls radiant in the glow of enduring friendship.

Among all the possessions of humanity love has been counted the greatest until a recent group suggested that it was merely a delusion;—an ancient pornographic instinct decked out by fancy in iridescent angelic garments. Whether it is a delusion or not it produces a notable effect upon consciousness and as such claims our attention. The essence of the illusion is that another person has become a part of one's self. The thought of an existence apart from him seems impossible or painful. When that other is praised, I am flattered; when the other is wounded, I suffer; when he succeeds, I rejoice. Two selves have become so integrated in consciousness that one feels with and for the other, and whatever is done to one affects the other equally. Whether they are really thus integrated or only think they are is immaterial. The enlargement of consciousness thus produced causes as great happiness as that produced by creative enlargement. Where two souls feel themselves thus united by integration, the happiness and resources of both seem to be increased tenfold. They mutually reinforce one another.

Just as the union of chlorine and sodium produces a product with entirely new qualities, so by such a union of selves quite a new type of consciousness is often produced. It is possible at times thus to integrate a whole group. This was the attempt of the early Christian Church,—to make all their converts one. There came to them thus a great enlargement of consciousness and a supreme happiness. There are those who hold that the goal of humanity is such an integration by which the selves of all mankind will be brought together by mutual love into one greater integrated self, and that thus supreme happiness and efficiency will be at last achieved.

6. ENLARGEMENT BY CONFLICT

There is a somewhat less agreeable method, by which certain men seem to have acquired vast enlargement both of power and of consciousness. Those who gain enlargement easily through annexing the things of this world, or influencing its inhabitants, do not attain the same type of self as that which is achieved through conflict. The man whose life is one long battle against adverse fate, who meets unflinchingly storm after storm, who is wounded and rises to his feet again, struck down by sickness and still persevering, who finds himself betrayed by his friends and still does not lose faith in men,—this type of man who, though the laughter of youth may have died away, can still go forward to face disaster with a gay smile and take his failures as a joke,—this man achieves something before which the irreverent world stands with uncovered head.

Whether he goes forward through repeated failures and disasters to conquer the vast, untried realm of the air, and to sail at last triumphant above the clouds; whether he dares to venture into the unknown white desolation of the north, and endure its torturing cold; whether he ventures into the fever-laden swamps of the tropics with their poisonous serpents, or the impenetrable forests of Africa, surrounded by wild beasts and cannibal savages, or whether he holds a thin line of trenches against ceaseless assaults when nerves are broken by the crash of shells, and the strength of the body is exhausted by toil beyond human endurance, until at last the victory is won,—such a man is bound to win from his fellow men the recognition of a greatness which is something more real than that before which men bowed down when they knelt in the presence of a figure dressed in a royal robe with crown upon his head, and sceptre in his hand, for in him who has thus triumphed over adverse fate, men feel a true kingship. They rejoice to obey him and give him homage. They are glad to do him service and to sacrifice themselves in his cause. We have repeated demonstrations of the fact that when the people think they have discerned such qualities in a man, they will assemble by thousands to do him honor, and will shout themselves hoarse in his praise. Such men have the true regal self, but they have not the regal consciousness which we have elsewhere described as the regal self. The old king was trained to feel that it was his right to exact obedience, to think first of his own comfort, and to demand the sacrifice of the life and toil of his fellow men merely because of his inheritance and not for anything in himself. It is different with those who rule men not because of an exalted concept of themselves but because they have achieved a kingly character. Such men do not think of themselves and of their superiority to others. Those who attain real enlargement of the self are objective-minded. Their thoughts are concentrated, not upon themselves, and their importance, but upon the work they do, and the world outside them. They do not try to demonstrate their superiority to it, but they lay hold of it so vitally that it becomes a part of them. They command others not because they feel themselves superior but because they feel the importance of their work. They care little for the opinion of others and their self grows great because they forget it.

7. THE ILLUSORY REGAL CONSCIOUSNESS

A man's consciousness does not always correspond with reality. If a man can acquire a kingly character without that consciousness which we have termed the regal self, it is also possible for him to acquire the regal consciousness without a kingly character. We meet certain persons of this type who take the front seat as a right, and push others from their path. They assert themselves and express themselves without regard for the unfortunate mortals who surround them. It seems self-evident to them that their pleasure is of more importance than the pain they cause others to secure it. It has not occurred to them that mankind was not created to minister to their comfort. If they are treated as ordinary men, they complain of gross insult. They feel that the public should be allowed to feast its eyes upon them and hear their voices on every important occasion and they arrive an hour late with smiling equanimity. They do not hesitate to correct an expert when his views differ from theirs. The amusing and astonishing thing about them is that they act precisely as the old-time king was trained to act. Unfortunately there is no kingship for them and their exaggerated concept of themselves is often due to the mistaken adulation of some fond parent. Wealth sometimes secures to a man that group of flatterers which once surrounded the king and who continually convince him that his personal charm is irresistible and his intelligence infallible. Such a one, if possessed of an imposing front, may succeed in disseminating an atmosphere of awe among the suggestible folk that surround him. He acts so successfully the part of king that in spite of themselves men confer honors and privileges upon him. To maintain a pompous front is sufficient to convince the receptive type of man of one's importance. Some are less successful and are continually aggrieved when others fail to insist that they shall assume the throne. We have termed such persons men with the illusory regal self because they have the regal consciousness when there is nothing in them to warrant it.

One reason why we are prone to doubt the possibility of any real enlargement of personality may be that we are forced to witness efforts of mediocre persons to achieve a greater self which only serve to make them disliked or to create ridicule. We all know certain persons who, because they are conscious of their inferiority, are yet determined to win the recognition which is accorded to the great man. They are keenly sensitive to the opinion of others, and their chief desire is that others should accord them the honors which would be appropriate to a king or hero. Not having the heroic qualities that would command this attitude from others, they attempt to imitate their external forms. They acquire possessions, furniture, pictures and books, not because they are interested in them but merely to show off their greatness, and no matter how much they possess, these things never become a real part of them or add to their growth. Wealth is to them a means of display and is not used to add to the qualities of the self. The clothes that they wear do not bring out the qualities in them that are real. Such women invariably overdress and try to appear something they are not. A girl of mediocre intelligence and of bourgeois type attempts to dress like a Parisian dame du monde, so that the gentleman who addresses her with pleased anticipation receives a rude shock at the first enunciation of her ideas.

Others are continually pretending to a knowledge of art and literature, or to an appreciation of music in which they are utterly lacking. Ever since the days of Mrs. Maloprop their efforts to parade their superficial knowledge have afforded the satirist some of his most effective ammunition. Men seek to create the illusion of power and prestige by clothing themselves in overwhelming pomposity. American society swarms with female "climbers" who have grasped only the externals of culture and position, who surround themselves with many servants and compete fiercely with one another in inviting to their dinners the most distinguished guests. They pretend acquaintance with those who have social prestige, and shun and ignore their former friends. They consider that a contemptuous attitude toward others is a sure demonstration of their superiority.

Such persons often succeed temporarily, for the public is of the receptive suggestible type and allows itself to be imposed upon. Disagreeable as we find them, there is a certain pathos about their efforts to enlarge their personality and influence by methods so futile and spurious. The world of to-day is becoming aware that the appearance of greatness does not imply its reality. The snob is becoming an anachronism. Such attempts at enlargement are in large measure a hangover from the day in which greatness was merely a matter of wearing fine clothes and belonging to a certain class irrespective of any qualities possessed by the self. In a Democratic world these two latter types should soon cease to exist, though there are still enough specimens of them to make social life disagreeable to many.

8. SELF-ENLARGEMENT BY SUGGESTION

Although it seems impossible to create new abilities in any man, it is probable that if every man used to the maximum the abilities he possesses, the world would be full of Cæsars and Napoleons. Violent stimulation can create great enlargement in achievement if not in personality. Without the lash and threat of death the pyramids would never have been built, and the same is true of most of the world's great works. Some men are limited by laziness, others by self-distrust. If requested to do something that is new to him, whether it be making a speech, or riding a horse, the average man shrinks back, under the impression that it is beyond his powers. In reality, if compelled to go on, he often finds himself capable of performing successfully the act from which he shrank. In addition to those who are thus restricted by an unduly limited concept of their abilities, there is also a large number of human beings who have been more or less defeated in the battle of life, and who in consequence have acquired the consciousness that they are doomed to failure in whatever they undertake. In both these cases the individual is really capable of far more than he undertakes, but some sort of transformation is essential before he will realize it. There are many who have been overloaded with duties beyond their strength, who have been exhausted by one attack of illness after another, who have been beaten down by some disaster whenever they have sought to rise, who have tried long and in vain to obtain work, and who are preyed upon by constant anxieties. Such persons usually belong to the weak, receptive, suggestible type. It is for the benefit of people of this type that the numerous advertisements appear in the papers which instruct the unsuccessful how to succeed, the poor to become rich, and the unattractive to become beautiful. The method is really that of suggestion, and attempts a sort of self-hypnosis. The candidate is instructed to repeat again and again, "I am strong; I am clever; I am attractive, or I am sure to succeed," until the repetition takes effect upon his subconscious mind, and he acquires a new concept of himself which leads him to put forth greater efforts and to make use of abilities which hitherto had been latent.

It is to meet the needs of the depressed, defeated class of society that there have arisen those teachers and leaders who are irreverently termed "sunshine slingers." They have created a cult that is almost a religion. Lonely, discouraged neurotics for whom the battle of life has gone wrong, who are out of work, hollow-chested, and dejected, flock to these meetings in throngs. They are addressed by a cheery person full of vitality, and the vigor and joy of life. They are made to repeat in chorus sentences that express a conviction that the world is glorious, and life is full of joy and beauty. They are told to go forth with the firm conviction that they can get whatever they want if they keep repeating, "I shall succeed in all I undertake." They come out with head erect, light in their eyes, and courage in the heart. Coué has started many upon this path with his slogan: "Every day in every way I am getting better and better." Some accept the sentence, which they repeat as a sort of fetish, and bear witness to the fact that when they repeat often enough, "I shall get money," they invariably find a roll of bills in the street, or acquire it in some equally unexpected manner. In spite of its absurdities, such a method of suggestion has undoubted value, and sends forth discouraged mortals to make a better use of their powers, with happiness and confidence in their hearts. It is, of course, true that happiness succeeds better than gloom, and that a confident bearing is more likely to win acceptance than dejection. We probably underestimate the reinforcement which the self receives from friends and acquaintances who cheer a person when he is downcast, and recall him to a true concept of himself when his mind is distorted, and restore him to a balanced judgment when that balance has been temporarily lost. Persons who live alone without the family circle, and with no friends, need something to take the place of this reinforcement, and it is undoubtedly true that the teachers of "sunshine" supply a needed stimulus.

CHAPTER XII

TEMPORARY EMOTIONAL ENLARGEMENTS

I. PERMANENT AND VARIABLE ELEMENTS IN THE SELF

Whether with the Behaviorist we consider the self to be an illusion, or regard it as a reality, we must acknowledge that each individual has acquired a certain complex of conditioned reflexes which make it fairly certain that under given circumstances he will act in a certain way. Some call this character. This character is, however, subject to most violent alterations in which it loses for the time all its characteristics, and the man becomes for the moment quite a different person. We are so used to this extraordinary phenomenon that we treat it as a matter of course and make allowances for it. "He was not himself when he did this, or said that," is the usual explanation. It does not occur to the average person that it is a most extraordinary thing that a man should cease to be himself for a while, and that later, when he resumes his former character, he should regard with aversion the deeds he had done in the interim. We have spoken of transformations of the self where the concept of the self is changed and the man becomes consciously a different person. The phenomenon of which we speak is quite different from this. The concept of the self is not changed, but there is a sudden violent departure from it, or defiance of it, which makes the man for the moment something quite different from what he intends to be, or thinks himself to be.

Without emotion the self would be as definite in form and as stable as a marble statue. Certain stimuli would be followed by definite reactions in proper mechanical sequence. But in the self is a dynamo which a pull on the lever may set in motion, a store-house of explosives which a touch on the trigger may fire. This introduces an incalculable element into personality, and interrupts that mechanical sequence of cause and effect where action and reaction are equal. As with all explosives, a very slight touch on the trigger may liberate an amount of energy totally disproportionate to the stimulus. The marvels of modern machinery are produced by regulating explosives so that they take place in accordance with the purpose of man and do his work for him. Unfortunately, he has not gained as effective control over the explosives in his own soul as over those in a gasoline engine. They seem to go off quite by themselves and often blow to pieces his carefully laid plans, break up his friendships, and carry him far from his course.

If we inquire the reason for this extraordinary state of affairs, the answer is somewhat vague. The behaviorists tell us that even immediately after birth if a child hears a sudden loud noise, or if his support is suddenly withdrawn, his behavior shows a sudden transformation. There is a display of violent energy which manifests itself in screams and in certain peculiar forms of bodily agitation and visceral changes which we are accustomed to call fear. We are all familiar with the subjective aspect of this emotion. Also if the movements or desires of the child are resisted, a display of energy of another type is called forth, accompanied also by screams and by various bodily transformations, which we term rage. This involves a discharge of sugar from the liver and certain transformations in the blood and innervations that naturally alter the status of both body and mind.

The loud noise is the key to the discharge of fear energy, but by associating the noise with any object, that object in its turn may become a key to the discharge. If a loud noise is made whenever the child sees a dog, the dog soon acquires the power to cause the fear discharge. In this manner a vast variety of objects and acts become keys by which this access of energy can be turned on. This transfer of the key is what is termed conditioning reflexes. The same holds true of rage, and also of certain desires such as that of sex which also involve a discharge of energy. Each has its primitive key which can be transferred by this process of conditioning. Now, owing to carelessness in training, or accidents of various kinds, a variety of objects and acts acquire the power of turning on this excess energy,—some of them in a fashion that is most harmful and dangerous. The full-grown man finds himself at the mercy of these reflexes which have originated in some fashion unknown to him. Often he does not even know what are the keys that let loose this sudden access of energy, nor does he know the path which it will take.

Thus it happens that after a man has acquired those definite reactions which constitute a character and a behavior pattern which appears in consciousness as a concept of themselves, so that acquaintances have come to feel that they can definitely count upon him for certain behavior, it may then appear that he is liable to sudden transformations which break down all these characteristic attitudes and create for the time being an entirely different self.

2. FEAR AS AN ACCELERATOR

The most primitive of these discharges of energy which we term emotions, and the one which produces most violent alterations, is fear. Under its impulse a man becomes a different being. A man who ordinarily is courteous and considerate and intelligent, on a sinking ship has been seen transformed into a being cruel, discourteous, and foolish, who, to save his life, pushes women and children aside, leaps into an already overloaded boat, and generally acts like a madman or a demon. All his usual attitudes are broken down by the surge of this passion of fear. For this reason fear has been regarded as pernicious. A man who was subject to it was termed a coward and despised, no matter how perfect his behavior might be when not under the influence of this emotion. This is a case where no allowance is made for a man when he is not himself. Cowardice is too costly to society for men to be tolerated in whom it is likely to occur, although it may be recognized that they are behaving contrary to their intent and will.

Fear, however much despised, undoubtedly has its uses. There are two quite different feelings which we term fear. One is the actual emotion which we have described and which is usually experienced in danger. This is an accelerator, a sort of madness, a sudden enlargement of the self and concentration of all its energies on escape from danger. The second type of fear is no such discharge of energy as we have described but only a pale reflection of it. It is a sort of anticipation of danger which acts as an inhibitor rather than as an accelerator. It is not a violent emotion, but a vague dread which may be directed in a thousand different directions. It may be a fear of thunder, or of water, or burglars, or future punishment. Instead of arousing all the energies, it deters from action and paralyzes. Really it is not fear, but the attitude produced by fear.

It is fear of the first type that acts suddenly to transform character. The transformation may be helpful as well as harmful. A Russian noble recently described his escape from the hands of the Bolsheviki. He knocked down his guard and ran for it. Before him was a fence so high that ordinarily he would not have dreamed of attempting to jump it. With half a dozen guns firing at him from behind, he cleared it like a bird. Fear lent wings to his heels. When a man turns to see an automobile bearing down upon him, fear enables him to jump aside with a swiftness and energy of which otherwise he would be incapable. It thus supplies a sort of enlarged self which is capable of greater things than the normal self. It is, of course, temporary, and designed simply to meet emergencies.

3. FEAR AS AN INHIBITOR

The second type, which we may term the *attitude* of Fear, does not produce sudden transformations but permanent modifications. It is this emotion, combined with horror, which has been of such universal use in checking men from anti-social acts and in rendering them obedient and virtuous. It was the backbone of ancient morals, and the dynamic of the miasma system. That ancient system of maintaining virtue produced as a by-product a terrible crop of futile fears and meaningless inhibitions, which have wound themselves around the souls of men and tied them up with double bow-knots. We seem to inherit the most amazing mass of strange dreads that come we know not whence, and to these every man adds a few of his own that flourish gaily in the ancestral soil so carefully prepared. Most men have something of this attitude of dread, about sickness, accident, loss of money and unknown disaster. In addition, each person has strange peculiar fears of his own, whether of spiders or snakes or cemeteries, or of lightning and darkness. Every beast, from an elephant down to a caterpillar, has a terror for some one, and a peaceful cow may prove as frightful to one person as a tiger to another. We hear of an heroic general who was terrified by a mouse and of fits of horror brought on by a cat. The self is thus limited in the most surprising ways and its normal activities are checked.

Fear, then, though it has served a useful purpose, is a most undesirable force to turn loose in society without regulation. It has been so abused as an inhibitor, that to-day all inhibitions are in bad odor, and men clamor to be rid of them all. A man who succeeded in losing them all would be a most dangerous companion. Inhibitions, when properly behaved, are most useful. They are merely ideas and feelings that check a man from doing that which is harmful to himself and others. Without them men would be as inconsiderate and annoying as a tiger at an afternoon tea. Most of our criminals and murderers are such because of deficient inhibitions. The latter are essential to civilization. The savage who slices off a man's arm and eats it before his eyes is free from most of the inhibitions that hamper us. The Emperor Heliogabalus, who wallowed in loathsome debaucheries, had freed himself from the inhibitions of his day that limited his subjects. And Caesar Borgia, who murdered his best friend and betrayed the men who loyally obeyed him, to torture and death, made a point of being above such restrictions. Social life would be singularly unattractive, if not impossible, if every one did exactly what he wanted.

Fear is not the only inhibitor. The man of the radiative type is usually inhibited by his intelligence, since he foresees the consequences of a harmful act. When men have sufficient public spirit to prevent them from harming others and are checked from base actions by disgust, fear is not necessary to control them. It *is* necessary, however, so long as there are cave men still about who have no sense of honor or justice, who push others from their path, and trample upon them, who make use of every bit of power and authority they acquire for extortion and plunder. Such men must be held in check by fear. Conversely, when one finds a man who is inhibited by fear, it is usually proof that he belongs to the low type of humanity.

To-day demons and evil spirits are not so much feared as is Mrs. Grundy. Persons of the receptive type are so afraid of what their neighbors will say that they do not dare to say what they think or to do as they choose. Those who behave properly because they are afraid of being seen, of being scolded, or of being written up in the papers possess a type of virtue which to-day is not in high repute. There is something about the man who refrains from wrongdoing because he fears the fires of Hell, and performs noble and useful deeds merely to acquire favor with God, and to escape being punished for his sins, that awakens distrust and dislike. The man who is controlled by fear as an inhibitory force will have to yield both in virtue and in charm to the man who does right because he wants to do so, and refrains from wrong because it disgusts him. In the meantime we shall hope to see men increasingly freed from the domination of those needless fears by which their pleasure is marred, their happiness obstructed, and the performance of their duties prevented. No man leads a more wretched life than he who lives thus mastered by fear, who scarcely dares to move, or take any decisive action, because the dread of disease and death is always upon him, and who worries over every detail of life until he becomes a helpless neurotic.

4. THE CONQUEST OF FEARS

This second type of fear, instead of causing enlargement, is the chief agent that prevents it. In order to secure enlargement or even a normal life, it is necessary to conquer fears of this type. The strong man, when he finds himself checked by unreasonable fears, disciplines himself in such fashion that the involuntary reaction is reconditioned. I have known men who made the rule always to do what they were afraid to do, provided the fear was unfounded. Men of the weak, suggestible type cannot do this. They are obsessed by the idea that the reaction is not only involuntary but inevitable. The fear seems to be a part of their concept of themselves. They will agree that it is unreasonable but insist that they were born that way. They can't help being afraid of the dark, or of cats, or of fire, or of water, or of standing in high places. They are overwhelmed by a paralyzing shudder which they cannot control. The psychoanalyst cures many such cases by causing them to remember the occasion upon which the fear originated, which is usually some absurd episode of childhood. As soon as the person understands this, the fear disappears. This, of course, is a method of reconditioning the reaction from within. The man's concept of himself is changed. He no longer feels that he was born as a person over whom cats have this irresistible power.

Other persons are so frightened about their physical condition that they become neurotics. They are afraid because of some nervous quirk in their constitution which affects them with a mysterious terror. If the psychoanalyst explains the quirk as a perfectly natural performance of human nature, even if his explanation is wrong, they no longer fear that they are in the grip of an unknown horrible disease, and are cured.

Other similar cases are cured directly by suggestion. No amount of logic or demonstration of the harmlessness of the object will dissipate a fear of this type. It is a spontaneous reaction originating in some experience of childhood and is independent of intelligence or reason. Suggestion, however, may reach it. Certain practitioners say that any effort on the part of the victim to suggest to himself that he is not afraid of the dark, only intensifies his fear by keeping it constantly before him. He must replace the fear reaction by a reaction involving some other emotion. He must say to himself, "It is nice to sit in the dark. I love to be alone in the dark," and thus at length the darkness will become the stimulus for a pleasant emotion. This is equivalent to forming a new concept of himself as a person who enjoys darkness.

In those cases where fear of a disease actually produces the dreaded symptoms, it is usually possible to effect a cure either by that system of suggestion that persistently denies the reality of disease or, if the patient has a localized feeling of pain and weakness, by continued suggestion that in that spot he will soon have a sensation of languorous ease. For this method to be effective, the person must be of a very receptive, suggestible type. Fortunately, these are the ones who are susceptible to fears of this sort. To attempt to eradicate fear from a man of the radiative type by any method other than a direct appeal to the intelligence would probably prove a loss of time. We are told that all suggestion is more effective when the patient is in a semi-hypnotic state. This theory should comfort the preacher whose audience gives evidence of somnolence.

5. RAGE AS A MEANS OF ENLARGEMENT

There is another emotion which, although it has fallen somewhat into disrepute, nevertheless has a very powerful and often helpful effect in modifying the self. This is rage. Like fear, it has a secondary and rather futile and disagreeable manifestation which we might term antagonism. The first type produces sudden, violent, temporary changes, and the second more permanent attitudes, most of which have been catalogued as sins, by the authorities of religion. The usual self is adequate for normal life, but when obstacles or enemies appear, it needs reinforcement. Its forces are inadequate to overcome sudden opposition. It is hampered by inhibitions of all kinds. We are usually too courteous or sympathetic or polite to repel an attack with the decision and force essential to success. Regard for public opinion also may cause fatal hesitation, and fears of future consequences may stay the hand that should be strong to strike. It is at such a time that rage supplies the enlargement of the self that is essential to success. It assists in several different ways. In the first place it adds a large quota of physical strength. Physiologists tell us that through the stimulation of the endocrine glands a large amount of sugar is discharged from the liver into the blood which supplies a store of added energy. The secondary result of this is great additional endurance, determination, and grit. It causes a certain insensibility to pain, which is rarely felt by a man in a violent rage. In addition to these more passive mental qualities, rage produces in the third place a great exhilaration, and a sense of unbounded power, so that in ancient times men thus enraged felt that they were possessed by a god who gave them divine strength and inspiration. Men have always had a passion for fighting, probably because they thus acquired that feeling of enlargement and exhilaration which lifted them out of the ordinary, commonplace self and made them feel like gods. To-day in a football game or pugilistic encounter one often hears it said, "Wait till he gets mad, and you'll see something happen."

In the fourth place, rage destroys all the inhibitions that hamper and impede. Fear can seldom co-exist with rage. The one expels the other. A man in a rage loses all his fears; not only fear of the enemy, but all the usual fear attitudes are swept away. Fear of arrest, or of the loss of position, fear of public opinion, or of the wrath of God, all disappear. Other inhibitory feelings and attitudes such as courtesy or respect for an employer, sympathy, and reverence for man and God, all are utterly forgotten when a man is really enraged. Every effort is concentrated on winning his fight. Whatever stands in the way is ruthlessly brushed aside. He will defy the police, insult a lady, throw up his job, and cast money to the winds. Therefore modern religion and its representatives and all those who represent law and authority disapprove and condemn rage. It is wrong because a man in a rage disregards the authority of priest and king, and defies law and God, devils and angels. We are told it is wicked to lose one's temper. A man thus loses his self, the old behavior pattern breaks up, and he becomes another being, a primitive savage perhaps. Then the old self returns, and the man feels remorse for the laws he has broken, and the damage he has done.

Nevertheless rage has its values. For some men, who have been crushed by custom and convention, bullied by wife and employer, frightened by priest and lawyer into narrow, cringing little souls, it is the only chance for enlargement and freedom. They break loose and defy the world, and for once say what they think, and avenge the bullying of years. People are trained to give way before rage. At times it is the only way to get justice or fair treatment, or even attention from conceited and insolent underlings who like to lord it over the courteous, long-suffering public. If a man cannot achieve rage, it is sometimes necessary to imitate it, and pound the table, and shout. The bully gives way before the approach of rage, and gives what is due.

Because it brought about this enlargement of the self, this sense of godlike powers, it was part of the ritual of primitive religions to rouse their votaries to rage. Then they were possessed by the god, and their strength was as the strength of ten. Savages in the war-dance sought to work themselves into a state of rage when fears were swept away, and they became irresistible.

6. ENLARGEMENT DUE TO INTOXICATION

As an aid in the cultivation of rage, men made use of intoxication. In India, the worship of Soma, in Greece that of Bacchus, served this purpose. Alcohol opens the path to rage by paralyzing the inhibition, and the critical intelligence that withholds men from madness and folly. When intoxicated they were freed from all restraint. A mad fury swept over them, they danced more and more wildly. Women tore off their garments and, in an access of rage, the Bacchantes would seize a goat, or a child, and tear it to pieces with their teeth and nails. A wild exhilaration came over them. They felt within them supernatural powers. They were possessed by the god. We know how glad the American Indians were to get "Fire-water" as an adjunct to their war-dances. It aided them to reach the necessary climax of rage.

In a recent book, "Witchwood," John Buchan has described how in a section of Scotland the peasants, crushed down with heavy toil to a narrow sordid life, and repressed by the hard tenets of old-fashioned Presbyterianism, kept up such an old pagan ritual in the course of which an elder of the church stripped off his garments and led a mad orgy, while a goat was sacrificed to the ancient gods. The people would not give up this one opportunity for enlargement, horrible though it was.

In modern life intoxication has something of the same effect. A man living in a sordid tenement, toiling endlessly at exhausting labor for a pittance, comes home to dirt and howling children, and a complaining wife, and bad food. There is no escape from the dreary treadmill. He fills himself with alcohol and fancies himself a king. His sordid surroundings are glorified, for his critical faculties are paralyzed. The man who is a failure and knows himself incapable and despised, once intoxicated, fancies himself a hero. His doubts and fears disappear. His every idea is brilliant; he is sure of success. The discouraged author or painter finds his work sublime, his conversation brilliant, his attractions irresistible.

The woman who thought herself ugly and stupid and despised becomes a different person. You see her waving joyously at every passer-by with assured confidence in her powers of fascination, with her hat awry, and a feather cocked over one eye, her cheeks wet with maudlin tears at the pathetic beauty of her own words. In place of the timid, discouraged, cringing person that she was, she has acquired an enlarged self, gay, fearless of opinion and convention, and assured of irresistible personal attractions. This has not been achieved by endowing her with any added powers but by paralyzing the critical intelligence and inhibitory centres so that every impulse travels through triumphantly, every thought seems brilliant, and every deed glorious. A secondary self is thus produced by suppressing a part of the old self. Such selves enlarged by intoxication arouse contempt because they ignore reality, and the usual standards of the race.

7. RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND ENTHUSIASM

A temporary enlargement similar to that produced by rage or intoxication is accomplished by other forms of emotional excitement. Certain religions to-day, though they have abandoned the use of intoxicants, still attempt to produce the enlarged state by arousing violent emotion. The Shakers at their meetings would sway in a sort of dance, and begin to sing or intone, their voices rising louder and louder, until a spectator could shout at the top of his lungs without being heard. The Holy Rollers work themselves into such excitement that they roll on the floor. In some camp meetings the people are aroused to a similar pitch of emotion. They are stirred first by dramatic portrayal of their sins, and the punishment in store for them, to a climax of fear and remorse, and then the assurance of divine love and forgiveness arouses them to an ecstasy in which they shout and scream and even lose consciousness. This brings an exhilaration and enlargement of self that creates the conviction that they are inspired by God. The effect is similar to that of old pagan rites. Ordinarily it causes no permanent transformation such as that which is produced by the Protestant method when it creates a new concept of the self. This emotional enlargement, like rage, is only temporary, and usually the old self returns as it was before.

We may then say that the creation of these temporary enlarged selves by emotion or intoxicants is characteristic of weak men who cannot otherwise escape from their limitations, and from the sordid life that confines them. The strong man despises enlargement of this type. If he makes up his mind that, to carry out his purpose, it is necessary to defy public opinion or break the law or disregard convention, or even to crush a neighbor, he goes ahead on his own strength. The weak man must take enough alcohol to rouse himself to a sufficient emotional climax to paralyze his fears and inhibitions. A weak woman who wants to do something devilish is too shy and too decent to do it until intoxicated. The strong man wants a clear, critical judgment of his achievements. The weak man wants to suppress his critical faculties and think himself a great man.

It may be said that the average man needs some kind of enlargement that will take him out of himself and give him the exhilaration and happiness he cannot otherwise acquire, and that intoxication is therefore of value. Unfortunately, as his happiness is then based on unreality or on the blindness of his faculties, the reaction leaves him worse off than he was before and makes him an object of contempt. The method of rage might not be so harmful, and one can imagine certain pallid, cringing souls who would be better for indulging in a daily rage. They need something that will arouse all their powers and take them out of bondage to the opinions of others. There is an ancient story of a Prince who arranged that his jester should devise some means of arousing him to rage each day by some insult or blow in the face. This was probably done to train him to conquer rage. It may have had even greater value in creating in him a daily enlargement of the self.

Rage is ordinarily thought of as directed against some individual, and thus it is considered as harmful and likely to result in injury. Where it is directed against some abuse or wrong, it has not this objection. When it is aroused in defense of some good cause or noble ideal, it is usually called enthusiasm. A passionate devotion to beauty and truth will rouse a man to the greatest heights and to his fullest capacity. Perhaps nothing would benefit the average bored, indifferent citizen more than to be roused by such a great passion for some worthy cause. It calls out every power that is in him and frees him from bondage to all his petty fears and inhibitions. It accomplishes all that can be gained from intoxication and does not depart from reality. Instead of blinding a man to true standards, it quickens his appreciation of them. Of all the methods of temporary enlargement it is certainly the best.

It is a pity that more effort is not made to arouse young men to fine enthusiasms instead of training them to an attitude of critical aloofness which paralyzes all initiative. Much is said of expressing oneself and freeing oneself from inhibitions, and it is tragic and pathetic that so many should choose the method of intoxication, and break through inhibitions merely to show off and proudly express a self which is empty and vapid. When the self is once formed by creating attitudes of beauty and power, and when it is fired by some great devotion, then one can afford to break through inhibitions and defy public opinion, for one has something of real worth to express, something that will command reverence and justify one's transgression of ancient forms.

8. SEX EMOTION AS A MEANS OF ENLARGEMENT

Another emotion which induces a temporary enlargement of the self which, though not so intense, lasts over a longer period than that produced by rage, is the sex emotion. A man who is violently swayed by this emotion is said to have fallen in love, and it is commonly recognized that he is not himself, or in other words that a secondary self or behavior pattern has been created in him which is expected to last only a limited time. By this emotion the perceptions are quickened to an amazing extent. It affects not only the object of his affections, but all the surroundings and invests the whole of life with a magic charm. The insignificant and sordid details of the environment, and acts that are trivial and vapid, seem clothed with glory and beauty.

The effect is not unlike intoxication, save that alcohol dulls the perceptions, while this emotion quickens them, and reveals beauties hitherto unseen, and gives the commonplace significance, by associating it in a thousand ways with beauty and interest. It floods a dreary, colorless landscape with meaning as the sunset clothes bare, gray rocks, and scorched and barren fields with a glory that transforms them to jasper, onyx, and amethyst, above a field of gold. It is the touch of the magician's wand that invests all life with charm and beauty, and turns the ugly briar patch into an enchanted garden. Life seems full of glory; base acts and desires seem impossible; a man becomes a hero capable of any sacrifice or endeavor for her he loves. It is fortunate that every man can experience this period of enlargement, even if afterward he relapses into a more commonplace self. He has learned something of the possibilities of life, and of heights in his own nature which he may hope some day to regain.

The ordinary man in ordinary circumstances seldom, if ever, approaches the limit of his powers of endurance or achievement. Under the lash, or under the stress of dire emergency, he can accomplish what he thought to be impossible. It was common to hear men say after the war that they would not take one million dollars for their experience. It had taught them what they could do. A similar effect is produced by these temporary emotional enlargements of the self. They call into action unsuspected powers, and resources, and show a man his possibilities.

CHAPTER XIII

EMOTIONAL GEARSHIFTS

I. THE FORWARD DRIVE

We have considered the unexpected element introduced into personality by those discharges of energy which we term emotion. It seems evident that all this storage of power within us which manifests itself as fear or rage or passionate desire was originally of use and it is equally evident that in most individuals it has been so connected up that its explosions do almost as much harm as good. It certainly seems unfortunate that when we are possessed of this fund of extra energy which could be used to push us triumphantly forward on the course we wish to take, it should be exploded by some unexpected reflex in such fashion as to carry us in precisely the opposite direction. No one can doubt that a difficult task becomes easy when it is done with a sudden burst of enthusiasm.

If then we have at hand this store of energy which can be discharged as enthusiasm, it would certainly seem unfortunate not to find means of so conditioning it that it can be turned on when there is an unpleasant task to be performed or a difficult obstacle to be overcome. We do not yet know the exact relation of this discharge of extra energy in the form of sugar and various innervations to the various emotions which we term enthusiasm or interest or intense desire. We do know that energy which manifests itself as fear and rage can be released artificially by injecting extracts from the endocrine glands. We also know that by a process of conditioning almost any object or act can be made the key to release it. The same should hold true of that weaker discharge of energy that we term enthusiasm.

Life would be much easier if we should learn the means of using this reserve of energy. As it is, although he is possessed of so powerful a dynamo, when there is work to be done the engine is usually idle. The work is performed only by hard shoving. The workman goes to it with lagging step, and in past ages it was often necessary to impel him by means of the lash.

I was once hailed by a man in the desert, who was alone and in despair, though he had with him a brand new car. The car had stopped, and he did not know how to start it. It seemed the climax of absurd futility. Here was a man marooned in the desert in a car with a powerful engine that could drive it at sixty miles an hour. He could not move it unless he pushed it. The analogy is evident. One sees boys being forced through school and youths being driven through college because no one has discovered the starter by which their interest is turned on. There is enough driving power in the average boy to carry him to the top of the highest peak of knowledge. Here is a boy who has to be prodded through school. Suddenly a radio stimulates his interest and off he goes to master the complicated facts of electricity and physics with a zeal that nothing can arrest. The power is on.

A part of Mr. Ford's efficiency system is to arouse in his men an interest in their work, so that his tasks are performed without strain. He even hopes that the power will be adequate to double the man's efficiency and to cause him to discover improved methods.

The old-time method of running the human engine was to push and drive it by outside force, the birch-rod for the boy, the lash or knout for the man. Now men are beginning to seek for the lever that turns on the power. The average man does not even know how to turn on the power in his own work. He forces himself against a strong barrier of weariness, boredom or disgust, to do his daily stint, when there is power at his disposal to carry him through the day without hardly the consciousness of effort. When his enthusiasm or desires are turned on, it is usually by some chance reflex without intelligent direction, and thus they either carry him far from his course, or else he is compelled to spend all his energies in fighting them. It makes one think of a man in a high-powered car with a small boy at the wheel pushing starters and pulling gearshifts as his fancy directs.

It is only recently that our educational system has paid attention to this section of the self that supplies the power. The memory is educated and stored with facts. Abilities are trained and developed, but no scientific system has been discovered to awaken the enthusiasm and interest that are the driving power. It should be possible to condition the desires and affections as well as fear and rage. If an effort were made to arouse in a boy a real devotion to his country, it would be interesting to see if he would not learn as many facts about its history and geography under that stimulus as under the present system of merits and demerits. If a man is to work on a farm, he is more likely to succeed if some one has kindled in him a love of growing things, and of animals, and an enthusiasm for agriculture, than if he has been forcibly fed with facts. It is equally important to develop the right emotions to inhibit or direct action. Great harm is done by men who use their superior education to deceive and defraud the public, because they were not trained to feel any pubic spirit. Without awakening the right emotions, education is a menace.

Although no sure scientific method of turning on the emotions has yet been discovered, there has at least been an advance from the old method of getting work done by applying force from without by castigation, to that of applying emotion indirectly. When a child cannot be interested in his work, he is offered a prize, or is given a mark which entitles him to appear on the platform. His desire for the prize, or his wish to be honored above his fellows becomes a driving power that makes the birch-rod unnecessary. Most of the work of the world is done now by emotional power which is indirectly applied. The laborer is not interested in what he is doing so much as in what he gets from his work. The boy is interested in his prizes and marks, the workman in getting his pay. The married man is not absorbed in his work at the desk and counter so much as in gaining the money to build his home and educate his children. The laborer toils through the week to gain money that he may spend on a good time Saturday and Sunday. This indirect drive is sufficient to keep the wheels of business and industry revolving. The old lash and knout are no longer necessary.

2. THE REVERSE

The human machine has its reverse which operates to withdraw a man from any act as powerfully as hunger urges him forward. Even when hunger is impelling him most vigorously, the sight of a worm in his food will serve to throw him into reverse. The reverse, as well as the power, is, then, usually turned on by outside stimulus, independently of the will or intent of the subject. We do not yet know the chemical reaction that awakens disgust, but we know that that emotion can also be conditioned so that a mere thought becomes the key to it. We are told that Captain Cook's men were given a feast in New Zealand, of which they partook eagerly until they were told it was human flesh. This turned on so violent a reverse that they were actually made ill. The food remained the same, but hunger was changed to disgust by a mere thought. In every man, by this process of conditioning, certain thoughts have acquired the power to turn on certain emotions. What the key thought will be depends on the training and experience of the individual. The disgust of one boy may be aroused by one thought, that of another by a different idea.

It is just as important in driving a car to know how to stop it as to be able to start it, and there are times when it is most valuable to throw it into reverse. To manage a man successfully it is necessary to know the levers in each individual which turn on the reverse as well as the power, or in other words to understand how these emotions are conditioned in each person. If one could start early enough it should be possible so to condition small children that every harmful object or bad act would act as a stimulus to turn on the reverse of disgust. In older children, where the emotions have already been conditioned by chance, it would be of value to study the key thoughts which control the various emotions in each individual, and to back him out of difficulties by suggesting the right thought. When one reads the experiments of Mr. Watson and other Behaviorists in conditioning small children, one is not surprised that they consider that heredity counts for nothing in comparison with training, and that by beginning early any sort of character or system of reactions can be built up.

3. MAN AS THE SPORT OF STIMULI

The presence of these unsuspected explosive forces gives to life a quality mysterious and terrible. There is something pathetic as well as absurd about it all. No one knows whether around the next corner there does not wait some impish force that will trip the trigger and release an explosion that will blow all his intentions to atoms. In every human being is this astonishing responsive power that may be released by chance stimuli. Each one has been so conditioned that some chance word or sight is the stimulus to awaken a flood of emotion. Though the forces are within, it seems as if they were without,—as if there were mighty Djinns and Afrits who lay in wait to pounce upon their victims and drag them off on unexpected paths. A thousand different stimuli surround each individual. He may pass nine hundred untouched but some infantile experience may have so conditioned his reflexes that the next may grasp him with an iron hand. In this is the fascination of life that one does not know what is around the next turn.

We see the endless procession of youth entering the Portals of the Temple of Life. Long corridors open out before them. One leads through gardens where bloom flowers beautiful and strange, some exquisite and delicate in their fragrance, others gorgeous and flamboyant in their tropic bloom. A hundred youths pass this corridor unnoticing, unresponsive to all its stimuli. Another in whom some response chances to have been prepared is gripped by the beauty of the scene. It is as if some tropic vine reached out and clung about him and he is held to spend a lifetime in study of the plants.

Here is another corridor leading back along the course of time, on whose walls are painted all the scenes of the past. Shades of the mighty dead lurk here. Socrates, with his quaint face that fascinates by its ugliness, and Cleopatra, with her uræus crown and filmy garments, still have power to lay a hand upon a young man's arm and lead him away, far down the corridors of Time, face to face with characters long gone, with the problems and battles, beauty and art, of a world that has passed away.

Here again is a vast hall filled with whirling machines whose din and clatter fills the air. And here a passing youth is caught in the mesh of some revolving belt and dragged away into the midst of clanging hammers and revolving wheels. A hundred corridors lead to courts of beauty with their plashing fountains and the shade of tree and column and the bloom of flowers. As many others lead out to a barren waste, to dreary desert, to hunger, thirst, and black despair. Which path each youth will take depends on how his reflexes were conditioned in that dim period of childhood before consciousness was fairly awake. It is this that makes him susceptible to the grip of the chance hand that draws him from his wandering course.

This would be well enough, but here also lurk destructive forces hidden in the form of some pleasing drink or soothing anodyne,—demons disguised under masks of beauty that grip their victim and drag him off to some pit of misery where his flesh is scorched with unending torture. No vampire imagined by superstitious terror is more deadly than these forces cloaked in graceful forms that get their claws upon the heart and tear and rend. Each generation pours forth its stream of boys and girls, heedless and laughing, waiting the touch that shall stir them,—so helpless, so ignorant of the vast forces waiting to grasp them. A sudden grip upon the arm and they may be dragged forth into some dreary corridor from which there is no turning, on through endless days, exhausted, broken in strength until they sink under the weight of years. No advice serves to guide. It is as if in the years of unconscious childhood, by means of these reflexes, each youth had set and baited a trap for himself which snapped upon him in the moment of some critical choice.

Here also are forces of healing and strength, the world's great leaders, who, if once they lay hold, have power to carry one on and up to heights of vision, to gardens of joy, to peaceful mountain summits above the noise and turmoil of human strife. But it is all a chance whether these lay hold or some force of destruction. Few know enough to shake free from the grip of those ghoulish forces that touch at first so gently.

In this vortex of forces within and without that he understands so little, the usual man of the receptive type seems helpless. He is carried passively to and fro, the victim of reflexes built up before he came to full intelligence. If he finds himself unable to guide and direct his course, he can at least discover what are the keys that turn on his emotions and avoid those which are detrimental. Moreover, when he finds in a certain environment or in a certain person the stimulus that awakens those emotions that carry him forward in the path in which he wishes to go, the best that such a person can do is to remain where this stimulus can continue to operate upon him. A great teacher, a true friend, an inspiring book,—when these have once gripped him, he can do his best to keep that grip unbroken. If he cannot direct his own life he can keep himself under the influence of those who can. He who cannot turn on the power in his own life, must take advantage of the winds that blow. He must put himself where favoring winds will waft him on his course.

4. THE AUXILIARY ENGINE

It is a simple matter for an automobile to spin along merrily on level ground. When it approaches a steep hill, or when there are rocks or obstructions in the road, the situation is altered. To surmount these difficulties it needs additional power, which is provided by shifting the engine into low gear. Fortunately, the same provision is made in the human machine. Even in the smallest child, when any movement is resisted there is a violent discharge of energy which we term rage. In the chapter on Enlargement we have shown how this store of energy is used to overcome obstacles and to force a way through adversaries. The usual human engine is so geared that any opposition or threat of opposition at once throws on this auxiliary power, and drives the machine furiously ahead to crash through any obstruction. At times, as already suggested, this is both exhilarating and helpful. At times it is futile and annoying, as when a man turns and violently kicks the chair upon which he has barked his shins. And at other times it may be either cruel or disastrous. When a man falls upon a wretched woman who has unintentionally offended him, or when his rage flies out over some fancied insult and he lands a blow upon his employer, it would certainly have been better if the reflex had not worked so perfectly. Perhaps there is nothing that has caused more suffering in the world than the unregulated operation of this auxiliary force, which has driven men to crash into their dearest friends and most prized enterprises and most delicate relationships, and leave behind them nothing but wreckage and ruin. Many a man has thus been brought to disgrace and death, as history and literature testify on every page.

That other type of emotional explosion, which we have described as fear, acts as a reverse in this auxiliary engine, and backs a man out of any danger with the same vigor, with which rage drives him into it. We have shown its value when properly regulated. Unregulated, even rage has not produced greater disgrace and disaster. This is not surprising; an unregulated reverse is a menace on any highway.

We are continually imperilled by friends who are swept back in a futile burst of fear. Again and again one sees a man who wishes to go forward heroically against some threatening obstacle, thrown suddenly into reverse, and backed out from the task he has undertaken, with a metaphorical tail between his legs. Many a man in battle who intended to charge upon the enemy, has found his legs running rapidly in the opposite direction. When he purposed to stand up for his principles he has been swept into retreat. On the other hand, when real danger threatens body and soul, and he should be backing out with all his might, he goes calmly rolling on to ruin.

From the behavior of some of our friends it would really seem that some irresponsible imp had slipped into the driver's seat and was amusing himself by pulling levers at will, now crashing into barriers, or crushing a friend, now backing out of duties and responsibilities, or stalled with fears, and now running over and wounding the person he cares most for, while he sits by and murmurs: "I did not mean to."

It is probably a simpler matter to direct rage and fear than to arouse desire or disgust. We know that nearly all men are so conditioned that any opposition or insult, or even the thought of it, will awaken rage. We also know that by a similar reflex an act of kindness usually arouses a feeling of affection or gratitude. If I wish to become thoroughly enraged with my neighbor I can remember all the insulting words he has said and the harmful deeds he has done me, and roll them over and over in my mind. This is an art practised by the press when it wishes to start international complications. If I wish to cease from wrath, I can call to mind the complimentary remarks my neighbor has made, and the very kind and unselfish things he has done for me, and keep my mind on them till I feel a glow of affection.

The same is true of fear. Every one is so conditioned that the thought of danger or pain arouses fear, and we shall show later how the attention can be directed to avoid such thoughts.

5. HARMFUL METHODS OF CONTROL

The only emotional power that has been deliberately used to produce work is fear. From the earliest beginning of time men have made use of it as a driving power. This is because it always works and the stupidest man knows how to apply it. Any one will work with a gun pointed at him, or a scourge held over him. Fear, however, is really a reverse, and its use is harmful, for it drives a man backward into his work, while he wants to go in the opposite direction. Work done in this way breaks down character instead of building it up.

In fact, most efforts that have been made to control emotion are harmful rather than helpful. To try to suppress emotion by sheer will-power is likely to result in nervous prostration. If you turn on full power while your brakes are fast you can produce sufficient grinding and groaning and shivering to thoroughly rack the engine. You can achieve a good imitation of this by trying to hold in a passionate desire by gritting your teeth and clenching your fists. To sit all day and long for a thing, and say, "I won't, no, I won't," is as pleasing a form of mental torture as can be devised. It would be wiser to find some means of distracting one's thoughts and thus turn off the power. When you desire some forbidden object, if some one can only suggest something that will thoroughly disgust you with it or her, then your troubles are over, for the reverse is on, and you will be backed out without any grinding of brakes.

At this point let me suggest a theory of the emotions which, though it may not be scientifically accurate, is of great assistance in managing them. Some intimation has already been given of this theory, the main point in which is that we shall treat our emotional power plant as if composed of two engines which may work together or in opposition. As we have shown, the power of the first is hunger or desire, and it has its own reverse, which is disgust or aversion. The auxiliary engine will be rage, with the reverse of fear. If you experiment you will find that in each engine the power is counteracted or nullified by the reverse. A man cannot feel disgust and hunger for the same object. When disgust is aroused, hunger disappears. He cannot feel both rage and fear toward the same person. When rage is kindled, fear is forgotten. Each engine can only work in one direction at the same time. It must go either forward or back.

And here is the important corollary,—if one wishes to destroy a desire, the most effective means is to turn on the reverse of that particular engine, that is, to awaken a disgust in connection with the object or person desired. The most effective way to stop the forward drive of either engine is to throw it into reverse. If you accept this idea, you have a good explanation of what happens when you inhibit a passionate desire by fear. This does not destroy the desire, as happens when its own reverse is turned on and disgust is awakened. It merely turns on a powerful emotion which pushes in opposition, for fear is the reverse of the other engine. Both engines, then, are running full blast against each other. If one had an automobile equipped with two engines, and ran one full-speed ahead, and the other full-speed backward, it is easy to imagine what wreckage would ensue. Yet this is the way in which men have been controlled from the earliest times. Their harmful passions have been checked by fear,—fear of punishment or ridicule, of hell-fire, of devils, and a hundred different things. The passion has not been diverted or eliminated by disgust, but continues in full blast, though under the threat of fear it finds no expression. Powerful desires thus suppressed by fear go on racking the soul. Crushed out of sight, they still ferment and struggle for expression.

It is this that produces the wreck of nerves and health of which so much is said by the psychoanalyst. By bringing the desire to expression, he frees the soul from intolerable strain. This strain is produced by using the wrong method to quench a desire. It does no harm to stop the desire, if it is done either by turning off the power by directing the thoughts, or by turning on the reverse by arousing disgust. What racks the soul is to leave the desire running full-power, and turn on fear against it. We may never be able to demonstrate the gearing of these two engines, but he who has this theory in mind will avoid some serious mistakes in managing his emotions.

6. DIFFERENT TYPES OF WILL

Some psychologists tell us to-day that there is no such thing as will and that our decisions are determined by the relative conductivity of the neural pathways. Even if this is true, there is a subjective aspect to the phenomenon. The word "will" is used in such a variety of senses that it is well to determine which of them is meant. In the first place a person is said to be willful or to have a strong will when his desires and emotions are so powerful that he pays no attention to the wishes of others or the usual inhibitions. Will of this sort may well be due to the superior conductivity of certain neural pathways. A behavior pattern of this type is characteristic of the regal self and though it is essential in a king it is most harmful to society when it occurs among common citizens. In fact, some nations, such as Poland, have been wrecked by its prevalence. It occurs often in men of the emotional radiative type.

The old-fashioned method of education was to "break the will" of such a child, that is, to convince him by punishment that he cannot have his own way but must yield to authority. While it is of value to teach a child that he cannot have everything he wants and to train him to be happy without fretting for the moon, it is yet true that great harm was done by this method and that many a potential strong character was broken down by it. To-day teachers seek to direct such strong desires into useful channels. In this case what is termed will is really powerful emotion.

In the second place the term "will power" has been applied to what might more properly be called "won't power." It is the same determination not to do what one is told that one finds in a balky mule. There may be no reason for the refusal save a feeling of opposition. The paper *Dumb Animals* once gave an account of a man who lighted a fire under a balky horse in the hope of getting him to move, but the animal stood still and was burned to death rather than obey. This seems to be a sort of negative rage, a blind fury of opposition that holds a person inactive with the same concentrated energy that is found in rage. It usually occurs in stupid people who hold to an opinion when it has been proved foolish and harmful in spite of every remonstrance. It leads one to cut off the nose to spite the face.

In the third place, we sometimes speak of a person's choice as his will. By this is meant that from two or more alternatives he has selected that which he prefers. The person who has no ability to make a choice is said to have no will of his own. He is always balanced helplessly between two alternatives, like the donkey, between the hay and straw. This may be because neither desire is strong enough to cause action or because both are equally strong, or because the intelligence is not keen enough to weigh their comparative merits and thus remains in a state of bewilderment. When we say that a man exercises his will in a choice, that which we term "will" is merely the result of a conflict of desires which are held in abeyance until the demands of one are felt to predominate. The power of his will is really the force of the desire which is strongest after all relating facts that deter or enhance have been considered and balanced. This may be equivalent to superior conductivity in the neural connections. On the subjective side this conductivity may be the result of long and careful thought and of balancing the comparative merits of different courses so that the desire is reinforced or modified by the knowledge of its possible results both pleasurable and painful. It differs from the first type of will in being an intelligent rather than an impulsive choice.

Fourthly, will is used to describe that power which enables a man to stand by a choice or decision when conflicting desires and emotions arise, and when obstacles and toil and pain impede. We do not here refer to the blind rage of opposition which characterized the second type of will. In this case it is an intelligent determination to follow a certain course even when one no longer feels a desire for it, and when a man's passions urge him in other directions. He is not carried away by his strongest emotions but is conscious that he is acting against them. Sometimes it is a sense of duty or conscience that holds him to his course. It is this type of will that acts negatively to check a man from some desired course because he thinks it is wrong. Here the deterring emotion is called conscience. We have shown that the essence of this feeling is the old miasmatic horror that compels obedience to the categories of things that must be done, and must not be done. In this case if the desire continues in full force and the man is checked merely by the miasmatic fear, or even by a sense of honor, there is great racking of the machine, for the engine is working against the brakes. Will of this type is accompanied by a sense of effort, for a man is conscious that there is power turned on against him which must be overcome. It is difficult to convince the average man that will of this sort is not due to something more than the relative conductivity of his various neurones.

Finally, will may be used to indicate a concentration of attention. The mind is so arranged that the field upon which it can focus is very small. It is as if it were equipped with a powerful search-light. The spot upon which the light is thrown is the one which occupies the mind. All the rest is in semidarkness. For the mind it does not exist until the light is shifted and thrown upon it.

7. ATTENTION AND MENTAL CONTROL

Some authorities tell us that this experience which we call attention is illusory. We are not free to direct our attention but are at the beck and call of stimuli that set up reactions which travel inevitably on their way. Such persons would probably not deny that we can choose stimuli to which we will expose ourselves and that our own thoughts can be so arranged as to supply the stimulus necessary to hold attention. But we do not wish to dispute over terms. If voluntary attention is an illusion, it is a most effective one.

We know that when a boy turns his mind from a thrilling ball game to study his algebra lesson, he is conscious of a decided effort and strain involved in the act of turning, which persists until he forgets the ball game. Whether this sense of strain or of voluntary turning is illusory or real, it is not necessary to discuss. Whether illusory or real, we know that in the boy's consciousness he seems to turn his mind with more or less effort to his lesson, because we have all done it. We can allow scientists to discuss the various mental and physiological processes that accompany this act. However it was managed, his eyes and ears and mind, which were occupied with the ball game, are now occupied with the lesson, and after a time it may be that the ball game will be forgotten. I can turn my eyes to any object in the field before me, and with them I can also turn my consciousness. Whether we call it attention or not, the effect is similar to the playing of a search-light.

A man's desires depend largely on the way this searchlight is directed. The mind is an instrument upon which outside stimuli of all sorts can play, and the effect produced by each stimulus depends upon the experience and training of the person. Most of us are so geared that nearly every object or act awakens a response of some sort, usually accompanied by emotion,—hunger, desire, admiration, aversion, fear or anger. A woman will go down town unconscious of any especial desire. But when she looks into the shop windows desires seem to awaken by the score. When a man's eyes fall upon a gun or a trout rod or a charming woman, that which he looks upon is likely to arouse some emotion. When a man's mind is quiescent and not subject to some violent stimulus, such as that of an empty stomach, the desires that stir him at any one moment depend upon what holds his attention at the time, and they can usually be altered when his attention is shifted to something else. If one is trying to hold the attention of a roomful of children, he may discover the disastrous effect of pouring out a glass of water. He will immediately be interrupted by a clamorous series of demands for a drink. The desire was latent until the stimulus of the glass awakened it. If he can produce a radio set or something of equally thrilling interest, he may succeed in causing them to forget this thirst in a new desire.

A man cannot desire anything in the field outside the sphere of attention, for the rest of the world is dead to him for the moment. If a man's emotions depend on what he sees, then, if he wishes to control them, he must be careful which way he looks. If he allows his attention to wander at will, attracted by any chance motion or object, then his emotions will be the sport of his environment. In spite of psychological theories, if a man will take the pains to experiment, he will find that he can keep his eyes, or the search-light of his mind, fixed on some one spot with such intensity that there is complete oblivion to all outside its field. It is this power to which I wish to call attention. If it is possible to live without the terrible friction of emotions at cross purposes and without the stress of suppressed desires, it is worth while to find out the secret. If a man can gain the aid of his strongest emotions to carry him in the path in which he wishes to go, instead of sweeping him off in the opposite direction, he would thus acquire not only great added personal power, but also that serenity and happiness which seems so rare a gift in certain of our friends.

Now the secret is one for which the whole world has sought far and wide. Every religion and philosophy has suggested its panacea, every psychologist has some complicated system to suggest. But the secret is so simple it is likely to remain hidden from all. It lies in this power which we all have, and which so few use, to keep our eyes or our minds fixed on a definite point. It is so simple, it seems absurd to mention it and yet so supremely important that one cannot let it pass. Here within my view are innumerable objects capable of awakening my desires and emotions. There is the book I am reading, the letter from my friend and an insulting communication from an exasperating acquaintance. There is the newspaper with an account of a fall in the stocks in which I have invested, there is the distant mountain summit which is my favorite spot, and there is the ever-present forbidden fruit.

Here is opportunity for any kind of emotion I wish. If I fix my attention on the insulting communication, I shall soon be in a state of violent wrath. If I fix my thoughts on the stock market, I shall be obsessed by worry and anxiety. If I open my book and fix my attention upon it, I shall be absorbed in the interest it provides. If I keep my eyes on the mountain, I shall probably end by getting my car and starting off to climb to a delightful spot I know, where all these other things will be forgotten. If I fix my mind on the forbidden fruit, I shall be unhappy all day long. This seems trivial and absurd, but it is in these trivial things that lie the springs of life. The men of real power and happiness whom we know are those who have chosen a goal,—something which they greatly desire,—a distant mountain summit,—and who then keep their eyes upon it. Other things gain only casual and momentary attention. The forbidden fruit is not even noticed, the insulting letter is put aside as a mere joke, the worry of the stock market is forgotten. Desire and enthusiasm grow, the longer they look at their mountain summit and the nearer they approach it.

The stimuli that awaken conflicting emotions are out of this field of consciousness. The happy people in the world are those who have learned to keep their minds on the things they really want. They are usually those who succeed because all the drive of their emotion aids them on their way. We feel them to be sincere and men of strong personality. Often they do not know the secret of their power and happiness. They have attained it unconsciously. It is, however, open to any who will cultivate this power of directing the mind to that which they really wish most to attain, and who refuse to give more than a casual glance to the annoyances and worries of the day. It is amazing what can be accomplished by this power. Certain of the martyrs became oblivious even to the keenest torture by keeping their eyes upon their vision.

It is astonishing how far the emotions can be controlled by this very simple expedient of looking where one chooses to look. When the forbidden fruit is dangled in front of one's nose, it is really quite possible to look at something that will provide so powerful a stimulus that it is forgotten. One of the Saints used to jump into a pond of ice-cold water on such occasions. This naturally served to distract his attention, but simpler methods are just as effective. If one can once learn to concentrate, there are abundant objects of interest to which he can turn his mind. He is then no longer the victim of his environment, swept to and fro, as any stimulus touches the trigger.

It is really surprising that this power is so little used. I desire to live in harmony with my neighbor, who is the usual mortal who at times does kindly deeds, and at other moments makes remarks which are exasperating if not insulting. In the section on rage it was shown that my attitude to him depended on whether I fixed my thoughts on his insults or on his kindness to me.

If I think continually of all the accidents that have happened to people in automobiles, I shall arrive at such a state of fear that my motor trip will be ruined. If my mind is occupied with other thoughts and I keep it turned away from every thought of danger, I shall not be troubled by fear, unless my endocrine glands are functioning abnormally. If my attention is absorbed by the various agencies that safeguard me, I am protected from the stimuli that arouse fear.

It is surprising that so much should depend upon such an absurdly simple matter. We hear a great deal of self-control and mental control, but it is doubtful if we have much power to control the mind in any other way than this. It is a mechanism so adjusted that a certain stimulus is fairly sure to produce certain reactions. Our control lies in our ability to choose the stimulus to which we will expose ourselves and to keep the mind focussed upon it so that other stimuli have no chance to obtrude themselves. It requires some effort and a certain amount of training to hold the searchlight steady in one direction, but nothing like the amount of effort to hold one's course steady in one direction when the attention is wandering to attractions at the side. All ages have applauded the sagacity of Odysseus in stopping the ears of his sailors with wax to enable them to hold their course when passing the sirens. The Greeks also noted that Jason succeeded equally well in stopping the ears of his men by the music of Orpheus, which held their attention so that the sirens were unnoticed. This method has seemed impracticable to the ordinary man because he lacked an Orpheus. It is quite possible, however, for each man to supply his own Orpheus,—to start music playing within his brain and to listen to it so closely that the sirens are unheard.

For every man there are some thoughts or some persons of such fascination that if he should fix his mind upon them he would become oblivious to other stimuli. If a man has before him a goal which has great attractive power, it is not such an impossible athletic feat to keep his eye upon it.

In learning to drive an airplane I was told to keep my eye fixed on a point on the distant horizon. Then no matter how the ship is buffeted by cross winds or dropped into pockets, she still comes back to her steadfast course. So long as one keeps the goal in view it is not necessary to hold the ship stiff against every buffet with that frightful rigidity that paralyzes the nerves of the beginner. One learns that it is safe to give her free play to bound and swerve joyously with the breeze, since she seems sure to swing back to her course, if one keeps an eye firmly on the mark he has chosen.

Undoubtedly the control of the attention involves effort and discipline. But when in vaudeville one sees a man with his feet in the air, supported on one hand which rests on the head of another man, while the latter walks up and down stairs, balancing his inverted burden, it would not seem impossible to develop this muscle of the soul as these men have trained their bodies, so that the mind could do a few feats of balance. This is the effort of the Indian Yogis. They direct the attention upon some one object until they penetrate to its inner meaning and through and beyond it, and reach the heart of the universe. By this method of attention and meditation they claim to become oblivious to the material world and its passions, and reduce body and soul to subjection.

The West has occupied itself with athletics that train a man to fullest control of the body. The East has always worked at the gymnastics of the soul, seeking to reach the full development of its powers and the mastery of all its energies. We may have to turn to them to learn the science of control.

Even if no science of mental gymnastics is attempted it should be possible for any one to find some goal or purpose or person of sufficient charm to arouse in him a really vigorous desire or emotion. If he kept this desire in permanent operation by holding the stimulus in view a man would have enough power turned into his life to enable him to do his work without effort, and to hold to a course undisturbed by contrary winds.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GROWTH OF THE SELF

I. THE TEXTURE AND THE LOOM

There are some of us undoubtedly who can read the foregoing pages with the proud consciousness that they have steered their bark with forethought and precision, while others may recognize that they have preferred to drift wherever the stream of circumstance might carry them. Some will be thankful that they have had a behavior pattern, or self, shaped for them by parent or teacher with anxious solicitude, while others can boast that they have carved out their own pattern with a free hand. There are at least four different methods by which a man may undertake this task of creating himself. We might term them, respectively, the method of The Iron Mask, that of Sculpture, that of Inspiration, and that of the Potter's Wheel. We shall attempt to outline them in order that the reader may determine which method the Fates have used in shaping his destiny. Science has accustomed us to survey the outside of the world, and all that realm of interwoven relations is a most fascinating study for the mind. If we turn for a moment to look at what is going on inside the world, that is, in the thoughts and minds of men, it is no less interesting, for then the universe appears as a vast workshop in which soul stuff is being manufactured and shaped into those forms which we call selves.

From that point of view the material world is a vast mechanism for spinning the threads of thought and feeling, and weaving them into the fabric of the self. It supplies the material from which thoughts are spun, and the loom on which they are woven into the purposes and attitudes which constitute character. In fact, certain philosophers assert that this is the chief function of the material universe,—to act as a loom from which the tapestry of the spirit is woven.

Science tells us that the reality that surrounds us consists merely of vibrations. These vibrations, arranged by our sense organs on a background of time and space, create the phantasmagoria of the visible universe. From certain vibrations of light, tactile sensation and chemical reactions on the nerve endings, the mind constructs a fragrant flower of brilliant hue. It compares this image it has created with other similar flowers and forms a science of botany from their mutual relations. It compares tree with tree and stone with stone, spinning threads of thought which connect them into an ordered pattern of form and beauty. Outside are merely vibrations, within the mind an ordered world of images connected by mutual relations.

The mind is thus furnished with a myriad images which are classified by science through their differences and resemblances. They are infinite in their variety and multiplicity, from the tiniest animalcule to the loftiest mountain and farthest star. They are interrelated by my knowledge of their properties, by the effects they produce on one another and on me. I think of the outside world. Really it is all here in my mind. The room with its chairs and tables, the landscape outside with its whispering pines and stalwart oaks and plashing fountains, with its fragrant roses and nodding lilies, with its towering mountains, and the surf beating upon the beach, all are parts of the materials of my mind. I have bound them all together in a complete whole by classification and comprehension.

All the world that I have seen, the marble temples and domes of India, the crowded streets and pagodas of China, the carved and gilded temples of Japan under their cryptomeria, the thatched huts of the savages of Africa, all this and more, out to the farthest limits of the universe—the clustering stars and constellations with their glowing suns, all are here reproduced, arranged, connected, each with its special meaning for me.

They are not really a part of myself until some thread of feeling has blended with the thought or image. When I admire the rose, or long to drink from the bubbling spring, or shudder before the hurricane, or am stirred by the glory of the sunset, or long for any of the objects of beauty that allure me from afar, then they become blended with myself, woven into the throbbing texture of soul stuff that forms the essence of my soul. Threads of force are spun from all these various forms. I have admired them or desired them. They have thrilled me with horror or stirred me with disgust. Some special shade of pleasure is woven from the song of each bird, from each gleam of sunset glory, from the odor of each flower. Detached objects all over the world are thus held together, unified, compared and admired.

It is not only the wide extent of space that is thus brought into unity. The threads of thought and feeling go back in time. I trace the bird back to the egg, the tree to the acorn, the bread to the grain and its planting, the rocks and mountains back through their geological formation to former eras of volcanoes and glaciers. The mind follows back from our present society with its literature and art to the sources from which they sprang,—Thothmes and his armies, Alexander and his phalanx, Rome and her iron legions, Phideas and the wonders of the Acropolis, Socrates and Plato,—they and the whole stream of time are drawn in and made a part of me. As I admire the genius of Leonardo or Praxiteles, or burn with anger at the cruelties of Timur or Attila, thus through the thread of my feeling all space and time is woven into one throbbing consciousness, interrelated, charged with a meaning which exists for me alone, and is in one sense myself. This is quantitative enlargement, —the normal growth of the self.

Enough has been said of the texture of the soul stuff and of the loom on which it is woven. We must turn now to the different methods by which each man is weaving or building that mysterious entity which we call his self. When we speak of the self we think more often of its shape or character than of its content or resources. In earlier chapters we have described at length the way in which a character or behavior pattern of a certain type was impressed upon the ordinary man of the receptive type. This method, commonly used in forming tribal or class selves, we may term the method of the Iron Mask.

Through contact with other minds as many other worlds open out and yield an added significance. As you see two men converse, you are watching the opening of a door between two spirit worlds. Similar images are there in each but differently related and with different aspects and a different meaning. The threads of feeling that unite them are of different quality. Thus by conversation there begins a cross-weave interrelating these two different spheres. Different opinions concerning the same man are compared, and the relative beauty and worth of various persons and objects are discussed. Standards and opinions are thus modified, new meanings are revealed and a new slant is given to all my thoughts by contact with another mind. The contact with other selves has more than intellectual significance. In it is a stimulus, a current of personal force felt as attraction or repulsion, stimulus or repression. Emotion also may be communicated, and reciprocal feeling may be developed in such fashion as to create a dual world in which the views of the one supplement those of the other. This, however, is something different from quantitative enlargement and must be considered in another section.

2. THE METHOD OF THE IRON MASK

An ancient tale tells us of a land where all the people were ugly of countenance. Their features were distorted, with thick, protruding lips, brutal lines about the mouth, with wide, apelike nostrils, and crafty wrinkles around the eyes. It chanced that the king of this land was a man keenly sensitive to beauty, distressed by the ugly, bestial faces that surrounded him. At length he ordered a mould to be taken from the face of a youth whose features were serene and perfect in their regularity, with clear-cut nostrils, firm chin, and lips delicately chiselled. From this mould was made an iron mask. This mask was placed upon the face of every child. As he grew up the soft, unformed features took the form of the mask. Under dire threat and cruel pressure the wayward pug nose was crushed into regularity, the wide mouth compressed into firm, straight lips. When at length the mask was removed, all had the same countenance,—the lips delicately chiselled, the forehead high, the nose classic, and the eyes straightforward.

Whether the ancient tale is true or not, this is precisely what has occurred in forming the selves of men. The normal, primitive man greatly resembled the tiger and the ape. The mask of kindness and courtesy, of chastity and temperance, was forced upon him. Thus all men acquired a standardized self or behavior pattern that fitted them to live together. Wayward moods and wild desires were crushed, passions were suppressed with iron bands, all individuality was stamped out. All were formed after the same model. Just as in China the foot of every girl was crushed into a tiny mould regardless of pain and anguish, until she could no longer move freely and scarcely walk at all, but conformed to the standard of beauty, so also men's souls were shaped. Upon every child was placed the iron mask. He could not behave like a pig or a tiger or an ape. He was forced to acquire manners. He must sit properly at table, hold his implements in the prescribed way. His conduct and language must be conformed, his behavior at school, at home, and abroad was regulated in every detail, until at length, when compulsion was removed, there appeared a well-mannered youth who was said to know how to behave himself. In this way were formed the various selves we have described. The castes of India, the serf and knight, the gentleman, and Presbyterian, all were forced into the form of some ancient mould.

Now character consists of attitudes, and attitudes are stabilized emotions. A temporary emotion, the feeling of respect for parents, is so conditioned that it becomes permanent, and becomes an attitude of respect. This, however, was not the effect of the iron mask. The mask produced behavior that simulated attitudes, but not the true attitude, for feeling was disregarded. It made no difference if the child felt respect for parents or kindly interest in a guest. He was compelled to act as if he so felt. His emotion was disregarded. Thus was created a surface of behavior that seemed to indicate right attitudes and a fine character. Really, underneath, the feelings might either have been raging in protest or else crushed to dull indifference. The self of the iron mask was a husk of behavior, a superficial pretense. Men were forced to maintain apparent attitudes of respect for parents, reverence to God, of love for family, of courtesy to strangers, or responsibility for work, when none of these feelings were there.

3. THE METHOD OF INSPIRATION

The mass of men have little power of self-direction. For them the self is shaped by the impressions they receive. The common herd of this type are formed by the iron mask, receiving the impression of character that is forced upon them by society, or by the various groups to which they belong. With the brutal, ignorant herd the mask is held in place by force and fear. When it is suddenly removed old passions break forth with redoubled ferocity. The world has seen the effects of suddenly removing the iron mask in the French Revolution, when the common folk so long repressed and held down to orderly, respectful behavior broke forth in a wild orgy of brutal cruelty and ferocity. The same is shown in Sienkiewicz's story "Fire and Sword," when the Russian and Polish peasants and cossacks, freed from the yoke by Hmelnitzky, broke forth and burned alive the families of the nobles and tore them in pieces with their teeth, and impaled them on stakes and left them to die in agony. They tortured and mutilated their victims until nothing was left but an agonized ball of red flesh. This all shows the hideous chaos of brutal passion that is held in check and kept in polite and serene forms by the pressure of the iron mask.

To a certain extent, therefore, the system was good. It produced a fine standard of conduct. It made society and civilization possible, but it was unreal. Men of the radiative type raged under it. Men of the receptive type became mere automata, not persons. To-day there is resentment and protest against the iron mask, but that resentment is largely futile. Young people resent the mask put upon them by their elders, and then make others of their own which are just as confining and less beautiful. The individual is forced into the mould of the group. The gang, the school, the social set, each forces its mask upon the youths who form its membership. Their clothes, their language, their opinions, their behavior, are all under pressure. Each college puts out youths stamped by the group as coins from a mint. It is a difficult thing for the weak man to escape from the iron mask. Perhaps each one of us is conscious that a portion of our character is the result of the pressure of the mask. It is to be hoped, however, that, for our more salient characteristics, we have to thank one of the other methods.

From what has been said above, one might be led to infer that there is but little hope for the man of the receptive or impressionable type, upon whom the world has always set the imprint of the iron mask. There is, however, an alternative for the man of this type which has enabled him to reach the greatest heights of fame and influence, so that he who is conscious of these characteristics need not despair. For men who are impressionable are sensitive to other emotions than fear, and those who are receptive are often capable of receiving not only a formal standardized self, but an influence which can change the inner life, instead of causing mere outward conformity.

Such men are capable of receiving by suggestion a new and higher concept of themselves. Thus they are changed from within, and not from without. They receive a new spirit, or a new self, which totally alters all their behavior.

This method is so contrary to normal growth that it has always been regarded as miraculous, or as something done by God. The South Sea Island chief is trained to believe himself inspired by a god or spirit. His behavior is changed, and all his feelings. The Indian Yogi believes that he receives the inner self of all things and is transformed. Mohammed, by the inspiration of the Angel Gabriel, was transformed from the rude camel driver to the prophet of God. We have already described this process in the account of the Christian method of transformation. The apostles dealt with men of the same type as those who performed the atrocities of the French Revolution, but instead of conforming them from without, these men were told that the spirit of Him who looked in pity on the misery of those about him and who was willing to be tortured to death to help them,—that this spirit would enter into them, so that every desire and every attitude would be changed. Not the iron mask but a new spirit, was the method. "Be ye not conformed to the world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds," says Paul. Thus true saints were created, not by the process of the sculptor or by laboriously chiselling out each day the desired features, but by receiving an entirely new idea of themselves.

We have shown that surrender, not struggle, is the key-note of this method. It creates a real character, unified, simple, strong. It does not appear to be a development of the old self. Each man feels that it comes from outside, from some one else. It comes not from his own soul but from some friend, or from some spirit, or from God himself and is grafted upon the old self. There is probably many an one of us who feels that he owes at least a part of himself to some inspiration of this sort, which came to him through the love of some friend, or through some moment of exaltation, and which has made of him a different person from what he could ever have been without it.

4. THE SCULPTURE OF THE SOUL

The method of the iron mask has accomplished its great results with men of the receptive type. Such men are usually subjective in attitude or introverts. Their thoughts are centred in themselves, and in the appearance they make. They are anxious about their sins and dread public opinion. Such men the iron mask transforms into automata who carry out the functions of social and business life, and perform the necessary labor of the world.

Some of us, however, belong to that other type which we have termed radiative, and upon such this method has a most disastrous effect. To force a boy with the soul of an eagle to cringe before those he despises is to lay up future trouble. When used upon such men this method often results in rebellion. Although the radiative mind is usually objective or extrovert, some men of this type are interested in themselves and devote their energies to shaping a self that corresponds to their ideal. There are some of us who as boys or girls had a certain dream or vision of what they might be and who have been working steadily and faithfully to conform themselves to the model they have chosen and the vision they have seen.

We are told that Michael Angelo was once given a huge block of marble which no other sculptor had been able to use. He saw within the stone a vision, a tall, graceful figure, perfect in proportion, with noble features. He seemed to see it all, from the curly locks that clustered about the brow, the broad chest, the long arms with their swelling muscles in seeming readiness to hurl the fatal stone, the firm thighs, the whole figure down to the well-modelled feet planted firmly on the ground. We can imagine the thrill of the artist as he worked to free his vision from the encumbering stone. We can see how the chisel bites in, and the white chips fly, and little by little the vision takes shape and form and stands forth. One can imagine with what intense concentration he must have worked, with what an ever present dread lest one false stroke of the chisel should mar the perfect line of the lips, and scar and deface the figure, and leave the clear profile marred and broken. Every effort and energy of mind and body must have been centred on the work, lest some slip should ruin all his labor and render the rare marble block mere worthless refuse.

Still more wonderful is the work that lies before the sculptor in soul stuff. If you were given a lump of flesh and told that you could model the face you would wear through life, the task would certainly be an absorbing one. Even more thrilling is it to work in soul stuff and to carve out the behavior pattern which is to be one's permanent self. Out of the inchoate mass of thought and ideas, out of the welter of emotion and desire, stroke by stroke, one must cut the statue,—a sculptured portrait, a form which will always be recognized and known as himself. He must keep the pattern before him and shape his purposes and desires conditioning with care each reaction. He must choose those emotions that bring joy and beauty and cut them into permanent lines. He must carve out his behavior on the line of his ideal. Words and deeds, sights and sounds, are the chisel and hammer that cut from the formless block the clear outlines of character.

If the work of Michael Angelo was one before which one might well stand breathless and absorbed, how much more absorbing is this. A slip of the hand, a false reaction established, and a gash may be cut that years of patient effort cannot erase. We have seen how as the result of a few careless outbursts some ugly scar has appeared in a man's character which seems to give an ape-like twist to features that might have been heroic. We have noted how a series of experiences can cut treacherous, crafty wrinkles about the eye, or coarse and sensual lines about the lips.

Sometimes one sees the whole world as a great workshop in which this work is constantly going forward and every one, whether he wills it or not, is compelled to bear a part. We have seen innocent, childish faces gather lines of strength, the dimpled chin grow strong and firm, the saucy nose become clear-cut and straight, and laughing baby lips gather character and decision, while round, vacant eyes become full of understanding and sympathy. Sometimes it is terrifying to realize how silently and inevitably the work is going on. In this vast workshop there is no clang of hammer on chisel. We do not hear the strokes that leave cruel, brutal lines about the lips, or cut anxious furrows in the brow, or change eyes that were clear and honest until they are shifty and vacillating.

Day by day, soundlessly, irrevocably, the work goes on. Fugitive desires become dominant purposes; vagrant emotions are hardened into permanent attitudes; that which was a boyish flare of patriotic enthusiasm has become a steadfast loyalty that endures disaster, wounds and death for the cause of the country. The generous impulse that flung a penny to a beggar has become an unchanging attitude that gives time and labor and a life's thought to help the distressed. A romantic emotion conjured out of moonlight has been strengthened into a life-long devotion that leads a man to give every energy and the toil of a life-time to provide for one woman.

So out of those feelings and desires which in childhood were fleeting and evanescent as passing clouds, are built up permanent attitudes. On the sculptor it depends what emotions will be permanent; what shall be the attitude of the self toward every person and every cause; whether toward friends he shall show an attitude of unchanging loyalty, or of self-seeking toadyism; toward strangers an attitude of courtesy, or of arrogant contempt; whether to his children he shall be indulgent or severe; whether he shall undertake his work with carelessness or responsibility. Thus defined shape and permanent form is given to what was a chaotic mass of emotion and desire and a form stands forth, clear-cut and firmly outlined, for all the world to see. A character has been created. Men know and count upon it. They understand that there are certain things this man can be relied upon to perform, while other projects nothing on earth will induce him to consider. You see his weak points and his strong points; you know where he will fail and where he will succeed, how he will treat the various types of men he meets. He has created a self.

After this fashion Benjamin Franklin worked, shaping his self according to the charts and diagrams he had drawn up, testing and measuring each day to see if it came up to the specifications. The method of the iron mask merely takes account of what is done. The sculptor of the soul must have the feeling behind the deed. He shapes the emotions and desires into attitudes, knowing that the behavior will look out for itself if the attitudes are correct. This method is adapted to the strong, self-contained, self-directing, radiative mind, like that of Franklin. Whether carelessly and unwittingly or with clear vision and firm determination, every one of us has done something to shape his own self by this process of sculpture by which form has been given to the inchoate impulses and vague longings of childhood.

5. THE METHOD OF THE POTTER'S WHEEL

Hitherto we have been speaking mainly of men of the subjective or introvert type, because they are the ones who are interested primarily in themselves and in their own development. The outside world interests them in proportion as it reflects glory on them, or ministers to their pleasure. They value friends for the admiration that is given them, and have something of that attitude of which Emerson was accused, that he regarded his friends as lemons, and when he had squeezed them, threw them aside. They are disturbed about their failures, remorseful over their sins, sensitive to the opinion of others, overwhelmed with shame when their mistakes are held up to comment, cringing under ridicule, or filled with dread of divine disapproval. For such some of the methods already described should avail.

There are some of us, however, whom we might place in the objective radiative class since they are always absorbed in some outside interest, in their work, in some cause, or in persons outside themselves, whether individuals or groups. Such a man takes little thought of himself, of his own appearance, or virtues, or sins. He is not thinking of what he can get out of his friends, but of what he can find in them and do for them. If the acts of such a man are noble, it is not because he is trying to build up a noble self, but because he is absorbed in helping others. If he is checked in wrong-doing, it is not from fear of being stained with sin, but because treachery and cruelty and vile deeds are repugnant to him. His standard of conduct is based on its effect on the outside world, not on himself; his attitudes are not a pose to draw admiration, but a natural expression of real feelings.

Form is given to his character not by the iron mask in the hands of others, or by the tools of sculpture in his own hands. Rather is it shaped by the work he has chosen, and the circumstances and events with which he deals. The work he takes up, the obstacles he meets, the success he achieves, all these shape his character and destiny. If he is moulded, then, it is not by the iron mask, or by sculpture, but rather by the potter's wheel, to take up the old image. It is the action of the outside world upon him that shapes him. The beauty of his intent is impressed upon his soul in the effort to work it out. Opposition, toil, and pain cut the pattern more deeply and perfect the workmanship. The whole of life leaves its mark. The ambition of youth and its love and longing, the stern purposes and hard toil of middle life, the ripe endeavor and matured thought of age as under the shadow of death the perspective changes, all these are woven into the pattern. Browning has painted in familiar words a picture of this sort of character formation:

"What though the laughing loves that cut the earlier grooves
Around the base no longer pause and press;
What though, about the rim, skull things in order grim
Grow out in graver mood, obey the sterner stress;
Look thou not down but up, to uses of the cup,
The master's lips aglow, the new wines foaming flow;
Thou heaven's consummate cup, what needst thou with earth's
wheel?"

Browning has here expressed the attitude of the man of this type. Absorbed in the service to which he has given himself, he thinks little of the pattern which the stern pressure of life engraves upon his soul, if only the instrument serves to perform its duty faithfully and well. He fills the world with his dreams and annexes the objects of the material universe as his tools. He is part of the great creative process, and what he creates is imprinted on himself. Failure, enmity, pain, and suffering only serve to mark more plainly the pattern of beauty on the stuff of the soul.

So a Washington or Lincoln gives himself to a great cause, thoughtless of self and of his own fate. For the sake of the great ideal that possesses him he toils on through his Valley Forge, facing hunger and cold, the loss of all he possesses, calumny and treachery, and all the bitterness that life can bring. Thus common clay is shaped into nobler and finer forms. He does not seek, like Napoleon, to create an imperial self out of a common lieutenant, or to impress his glory upon kings and potentates. He is not working out any concept of himself. He finds that concept created by circumstances. What he has done makes him the father of his country in spite of himself. The concept of himself is thrust upon him and shapes him to its form. The development of men of the receptive type usually starts with a concept which is either forced upon them, or received by suggestion. In the case just described, the development, beginning without any definite concept, often ends in a concept to which the self is finally adjusted. Most great heroes find that a concept of them has been created in the minds of the public, often formulated in some nick-name, and this reacts upon them, since they are obliged in some measure to be what they are thought to be. Thus in the end the concept gives shape and form to all the accumulations of knowledge and feeling that are included in consciousness, directs the attitudes, controls the behavior, and thus at length the statue is completed, the character is formed. It may be useless to describe this method of character formation for those of us who are being shaped in this fashion are so unconscious of it and of themselves that, no matter how accurate the portrait, it is probable that they would not recognize themselves.

CONCLUSION

When you were sixteen you were doubtless planning to be something quite wonderful. Most of us were. You might have been content with the Presidency of the United States, but probably you had your eye on something much more original and recherché. The question to be considered was as to what you would do to astonish the world, or upon whom you would exercise the latent powers to charm of which you could not but be conscious. You felt within you limitless possibilities, and were only anxious to choose the right channel in which to exercise them. You knew that even if you chose to live apart, unknown and unappreciated, you could, at least, be a "big" person.

But in some way constricting barriers have compressed your personality. People around you seem to find in you nothing extraordinary. In the midst of the brilliant conversation that surrounds you, you feel strangely small. You lack the light touch, the airy persiflage. Moreover, you find your knowledge of Einstein and of the Reparations question is absurdly superficial. You have missed that grounding in Greek thought which, in others, is so evidently the basis of their culture. You are disgusted to find that in spite of all your opportunities to learn French and Italian you are ashamed to address a foreigner. You find yourself pretending to familiarity with works of art and literature of which you are humiliatingly ignorant.

You see now that you have bobbed about like a cork on the ocean, now driven by the demands of your friends, now by some whim, or momentarily clamorous desire. The mark you were to leave upon the world is strangely invisible. As for being "big" you suspect you are hardly visible to the naked eye. Instead of mastering your fate, you have been the sport of your environment. You have been caged up, like a bear in the zoo, by custom, convention and the opinion of your friends. Once like Francis of Assisi, you would have been strong enough to strip off these bonds and bandages together with your garments, and go forth, naked, to defy them, wherever the inner urge carried you. Now that would be embarrassing if not unthinkable.

You find you are scaling no glorious mountain summit but trudging round and round the routine path of boredom. You catch a glimpse of yourself, in the mirror of your mind, and are depressed to think that such a weak, vacillating thing can really be you. Worst of all is the gnawing dissatisfaction and unhappiness that comes with the sense of failure and futility.

What is to be done? Have you got to accept that depressing mental physiognomy as your very self and sit down and wear it the rest of your life? Have you got to continue walking circles inside your cage for the term of your natural life? Will the Behaviorist tell you your reactions are all permanently conditioned? Has modern science no cure to offer, no gland serum to inject that will restore the fire of youth, the vigor of purpose, the keenness of enjoyment, that makes life a thrilling adventure.

If an institution guaranteed by science were opened for the Enlargement and Transformation of Personality how many of us would besiege its doors! Alas! the best that medicine can do as yet is to modify certain emotions by injections from the endocrine glands, while psychology puts before us a long process of reconditioning our reflexes. And yet history and experience prove, as recounted in the preceding pages, that a man's personality can undergo a change as phenomenal as that celebrated transformation of the caterpillar into the butterfly. Science utterly fails to explain that miracle. It only tells us that within the cocoon the body of the caterpillar dissolves into a viscous mass, losing apparently all its cellular structure. Then out of this mysterious fluid a new body begins to shape itself, totally different in structure, a slim-waisted form with six thin legs in place of those innumerable fat ones, with eyes of a different sort, and antennæ, and above all with wings, covered with glittering iridescent scales. All this seems utterly contrary to all that we know about the growth of cellular structure. Science would call it impossible if it did not happen. Well, in the same impossible fashion, we have seen a commonplace crawling personality dissolve away and then reform itself and spread its wings. Science says it is impossible, but common sense says "There it is!"

Science loses its way in the depths of personality. It is not even sure that there is a self. It can measure the stimulus and note the reaction and trace the impulse on the neurones a little way on the journey between, but what happens at the centre, what reserves of force lie there to be discharged by a trigger touch, what intricate interrelations of neurones and brain cells, all this is unfathomed. Still more unfathomable is the realm of thought and consciousness. The more we read of the efforts of psychology to explain it, the more hopeless seems the task. We fall back on the method of common sense. We have something which we call a self; we know it can be happy or unhappy, weak or strong, and that it can show as many differences in character as the face that represents it. And it certainly is probable that it would show as much response to careful cultivation as a potato plant or a rose-bush. Most of us are in a state of arrested development, like a Japanese dwarf tree, and only about a tenth of the proper size. In the first place the gates of our mind are probably a bit too narrow. Most of the material for our mental edifice has come in through our eyes and ears. To grow, a man must have thoughts and ideas, and these he gets from what he sees and hears, and the average eye seems so small that a good-sized idea would stick in it. The eye of a needle takes in almost as much as that of the average man.

I once knew a teacher who had a class for bored persons. He started by seating them on a hillside and asking: "Now how many different things can you see?" They started by seeing nothing but trees and grass. Then they began to discover the difference in trees, in leaves and bark and buds, in color and form, the weeds and tiny blossoms in the grass, the insects and their infinite variety and beauty of color and strangeness of shape. Their interest grew in the competition, as they saw more and more different things and noted their differences and resemblances, until they could count some thousands. Having the materials the teacher then began to weave them into the building of ideas. He pointed to a bird's feather lying in the grass. "Of what does that make you think?" he asked. The first answers were trite, but the power to weave grew. From the mere thought of the dead bird, the feather led their thoughts to the power it possesses to surmount the air, to rise above the storm. Its frailty and magic strength, its mysterious growth from the yellow yolk of the egg, were all discussed and before the end of the lesson, poetry and science, art and literature had all been woven into the pattern. The world had become full of interest and every mind had wakened to creative power and was building a new network of thought and feeling.

We all grow casually and unconsciously in this fashion but it is a pity there are not more classes of this sort to waken dull inert minds to active thought and to keep them spinning the threads that weave a larger life.

We have shown how the personality is enlarged as its interests increase and how as it thrills under the revelations of science and history, it travels out as on a network of telephone wires to the farthest confines of space and the first beginnings of time. Perhaps the greatest mistake of education in the past has lain in its attempt to teach facts rather than to awaken interests. To every man who wakens in you a new interest you owe an incalculable debt for he has increased the area of your personality by some thousands of miles. If your face shrivels and your muscles shrink with advancing years, that is no reason why your interests should do likewise. You might even get a new one each season. There are dynamic people who communicate interests just as others communicate smallpox. It pays to cultivate them.

We spoke of enlargement through annexing the material objects of the world about us. Some persons have the art of making all their possessions express their individuality. They surround themselves with things that express their qualities and feelings, their likes and dislikes, so that even in their absence one feels their presence. A clever girl who wishes to hold her influence over her admirer in his absence, will annex a certain star and so associate herself with it by some romantic tale that wherever he wanders he cannot escape her influence so long as the star is visible.

More important is that enlargement that comes from the projection of oneself into the material world through some form of creative activity, and it is interesting to note how men are everywhere awakening to the fact. A business man who has been growing narrow from keeping the mind in a constant rut will begin to develop an estate and give his ideas form in some beautiful garden or great farm and his whole personality expands in the process. Busy professional men are finding time for modelling or painting or music and in their creative work their self seems to break through the shell that was hardening about it and grow to new dimensions. When you feel your soul shrinking up then start on your career as a creator. Even to grow a geranium or knit a pair of socks might cause some expansion of soul. It is surprising what it does to a man's soul to watch the seeds he has planted poke their noses through the soil and then stand up arrayed in gorgeous garments, bringing sweet fruits in their hands. The great delusion of the age is that men gain enlargement by making money and every one is seeking to gain and display his wealth. But possessions only dwarf the soul unless some creative force is put into them. Wealth supplies materials for enlargement but too often the person is crushed out by its weight.

We might gain much more from the enlargement that comes through friends were we not too casual in our friendships. A crop of friendships requires as much ploughing and planting and cultivating as does a field of wheat. We allow old friends to drift away and take no pains to find new ones. The connecting wires that once thrilled with constant messages rust out, and the link is broken. With every lost friend one loses a bit of oneself. With every new friend, the battery of the soul is recharged. A whole book might be written on the growth that comes through friendship but it will save time to refer the reader to the numerous authors from Cicero down, who have attempted it. It should be possible to prove by trigonometry that the more people of different types that are sympathetically connected with you by the cross-wiring of friendship, the bigger person must you prove to be. Instead of being boxed up face to face with yourself, you feel with and think with and understand all these different personalities. By sympathy you dwell in them and they in you.

All these methods of expansion are open to any one who wishes to try them. But probably what you wish for more than enlargement in the area of your interests is enlargement or intensification of personal power. You need not be a Napoleon to want sufficient force to carry through triumphantly what you undertake and to wish to make yourself felt by the world around you. Enlargement is all very well, but most people seem to be growing a bit too broad for their depth. They would get on better with less expansion and more concentration.

If the average mortal would put some of the energy he is giving to the daily dozen and to physical discipline into the effort to develop his mental muscle, as suggested in the last chapter, and so direct his thoughts as to bring his reserve of emotional force to bear on that which he wishes to do, instead of allowing it to be dissipated or exploded by chance contacts, there would certainly be an enormous increase of personal dynamic. The people of force whom we know are those who have their attention and every emotion concentrated on the work before them and not those whose eyes wander all over the orbis terrarum. With practice a man can see a great deal without allowing his attention to swerve. I once met a pretty Armenian girl who told me of her engagement to a young man in a neighboring city. "I suppose your interest is entirely fixed on him now," I said. "Yes," she answered, "my eyes are fixed upon him, but out of the corners I see other men." Her eyes were fixed but she did not miss much.

We are told that on a crowded street a man once collided violently with a cross-eyed man. The latter indignantly demanded, "Why don't you look where you are going." The other responded with equal indignation, "Why don't you go where you are looking." The ordinary mortal is so geared that if he does not keep his eyes on his goal and look where he is going, he is pretty sure to go where he is looking, which is not usually what he intends to do.

There are many who are not especially interested in acquiring a larger or stronger self, who are nevertheless notably dissatisfied with the self which nature and environment have bestowed upon them. They are unhappy and although they usually wish their environment so to change as to provide them with happiness, it would probably be simpler for them to change in such fashion that they could find happiness in their environment.

It is likely to cause unhappiness to have so many different persons dwelling in you that neither you nor your friends know which you are. We have spoken of the tragic unhappiness of trying to be a pirate captain and a mother's boy at the same time, or that results when a ward politician and a Methodist class leader inhabit the same body. Each group to which one belongs insists on a different behavior pattern, and one's reflexes are reconditioned in such a contradictory fashion that the paths of neuronic conductivity must be sadly tangled. The platypus must lead an unhappy and confused existence. When she shows her four legs and fur, her neighbors must expect her to behave as a normal mammal. When she swims under the water the fishes are doubtless ready to accept her as a well-regulated fish, and when she shows her bill and her eggs the birds probably expect from her the normal behavior of a bird. On the other hand, when the mammals have accepted her it must be a shock to them to have her lay eggs, and the fish are doubtless outraged when she walks out on dry land. She is trying to be too many different things for her own happiness. When one is accepted as a member of one group, one cannot violate its behavior pattern without being made most uncomfortable. It is the element of pretence or hypocrisy that makes the trouble. The mammals would doubtless disapprove of the platypus, because she pretended to be a mammal with them, and then went off and acted like a bird.

If a man once makes it plain to himself and the world which of his Protean shapes is really he, then he can manifest as much versatility as he wishes and win appreciation and applause instead of condemnation and distrust. A man cannot live at peace with a row of different portraits of himself hung up in his brain chamber. He must choose one and label the others plainly as make-up and masquerade.

Finally, we come to the person who is thoroughly disgusted with his self and wants a new one. It is by no means impossible for him to succeed in securing one. Several methods are open and he can choose the one adapted to his mentality. We have shown the success of the religious method with certain types. In this country we are not hampered with those rigid behavior patterns which cause a man in the old world to feel that he can never be anything other than he has been. Many persons here, however, seem to have been hypnotized with the idea that they are weak and unattractive and incapable. A portrait of themselves has been thrust upon them which causes them great unhappiness and which binds them to a definite behavior pattern. We have endeavored to prove from history and experience that it is perfectly possible to get rid of this undesirable portrait and to acquire a new one which will subtend both happiness and strength. We are just beginning to realize the great reserves of force that are stored in the human mechanism and that can be set free in the form of emotion. Whatever theory a man has, the reserves are there to be called upon. He may call it "inspiration from on high," or "becoming in tune with the infinite," or he may be so materialistic that he lays it all to a discharge of sugar from the liver. It is his job to find the stimulus that will set free this liberating force in him. It all depends on how his reflexes have been conditioned. One idea will serve for one man, quite a different one for another. One sight stirs one person, some other sight or sound the next individual.

At any rate, he can be assured that he need not be boxed up for all time in a narrow behavior pattern with a sordid iron mask pressed upon his features, but that he can choose another and better pattern. Moreover, there are vast reserves of force that can be applied to realizing it. According as he is receptive or radiative in mentality, he must choose his method. There are innumerable ideas at hand that have worked with others, with which a man can experiment. Some day doubtless there will be an institution for the transformation of selves which will provide a skilled staff to analyze each patient and discover the stimuli that move him and the ideas that grip him and release the needed energy.

In the meantime, we have supplied you with a vast variety in behavior patterns from the time of Rameses down. It should be of interest to pick a becoming style and try it on. It may be a bit late for some of us to experiment, but with our children, by starting early to condition their reflexes, it should be possible to produce any known type of self. Most of these selves of the past produced unhappiness because the conditioning agent was fear. In conditioning the reflexes of children they would certainly live much freer and happier lives if disgust were used instead of fear. If disgust were associated with things that are base and harmful. it would not be necessary to threaten children with punishment, and even when there was nothing to fear they would still keep from the things that harm. A behavior pattern conditioned by disgust instead of fear creates the illusion in the subject that he is free to do as he chooses, while if he is inhibited by fear, he feels constantly under constraint.

In the education of children it would pay to give more attention to awakening interests and training in creative work.

We come, finally, to the creation of that enlarged self which is termed genius, or inspiration or exaltation, and of which so much has been said in the preceding pages. We have shown that it was the aim of certain religions to produce this self in all their adherents and that it has been this so-called miraculous power which has commended these religions to the world. Modern thought has made the old procedure difficult if not impossible in most cases. I have seen this self with its accompaniment of happiness and added powers and higher standards produced in so many persons of different types, from the ignorant peasant and untrained savage to the man of culture, that I cannot doubt the possibility of producing it anywhere if the right method is used. We are just on the outer verge of knowledge as to the resources of the mind. The years to come will doubtless bring astounding revelations of our power to master and control them. Our knowledge of mental and psychic forces is about where our knowledge of electricity was a hundred years ago. We see strange psychic phenomena and note the extraordinary powers acquired by certain geniuses, and because we do not understand their law we regard them with the same suspicion that pursued the early experiments in chemistry and physics.

What thought or idea will prove the key to open my mind or yours to that great incoming tide of force which translates itself into happiness and vision and achievement, I cannot state, for each mind is differently conditioned, and what is inspiring to one is deadly to another. I can only show the evidence that vast reserves of power are there, and suggest that when you find a key that will open the door, even so much as a crack, you should keep it carefully in hand and use it to the utmost. And merely to have the assurance that any moment one may discover the key that will flood the mind with new visions and conscious power, should be enough to restore the zest of youth and to make of life the great adventure it should be for all.

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